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An overview of translation history in South Africa 1652-1860

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An Overview
of
Translation History
in
South Africa

1652–1860

By
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A research report submitted to the Faculty of the Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts: Translation

Adelaide, South Australia, 2008

Abstract

This research report comprises an outline of South African translation history in the years 1652 – 1860. The report is divided into three chapters, covering scriptural and secular translation history across two time periods, namely 1652-1750 (scriptural and secular), 1750-1860 (scriptural) and 1750-1860 (secular). A catalogue of translations done in these time periods is also included. The research methodology is based on hermeneutical principles, and therefore seeks to interpret and represent historical material in a way that makes it relevant for contemporary circumstances, always focusing on the individuals involved in events as well as taking into account the subjectivity of the researcher. In conclusion, but also as a part of the overall rationale for performing the research, the report discusses the immediate importance to modern society of understanding the historical linguistic dynamics between cultures, as represented in translation activity.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts: Translation, in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Birgitt Olsen
20th day of November, 2008

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An Overview of Translation History in South Africa, 1652–1860

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Introduction

> As the countries struggle out of divisive pasts, the historian's task is to recover and reconstitute the past in ways that are usable to both current enquiry and future participation in a democratised public sphere. Instead of the past retaining its impenetrability in antiquarian interest, or shedding its impenetrability in transhistorical notions of relevance, the exploration proceeds according to a dialectical relation of past significance to present meaning: the structure of the work is created in specific times, places and conditions, but lives in the process of its reception.
>
> (Chapman, 1996: 42)

In this research report, I have aimed to provide an overview and an introduction to translation history in South Africa for the period beginning ~1652 and ending ~1860. I have looked at the interaction between the various languages used in South Africa during that time and how this lead to translation activity; I have described the activities and personalities of a number of significant South African translators and interpreters; and I have commented on the effect that cultural institutions and the colonial mindset had on translation activity. I have also supplied a list, in the form of a catalogue, of some of the translations that were published in this period.

Immediately I must add that this overview of historical translation activity is in no way complete, and neither is the catalogue. A complete record would surely require many years of work, and would demand (or, at the very least, benefit from) the expertise of a historian who specialises in southern African cultural/linguistic history.

My work is thus no more than a survey of some of the things that happened in the South African field of translation during the specified time period, and an overview of what translators were doing (although, as we shall see, the majority of those translators saw themselves not as professional translators, but as members of another vocation). This research report is perhaps an anteroom into which other students of translation and history may step in order to perform further research of their own. I suspect that – much like myself a few years ago – most South African students of translation have no idea of what preceded them in their field. Not that it has to matter to everyone, but for those translators who would like to know where they stand in the

complex intercultural process of 'translation in South Africa', a bit of knowledge about what their predecessors did – why they did it; how their work influenced the recipients; how the effects of their work may still influence us; and perhaps, how we could do it better, more consciously, and less chauvinistically – might provide a good starting point.

Having already stated that my research has certain limitations, I would briefly like to describe these, before I continue with a description of the methodology used in this research report,

Limitations of this research report

Libraries and sources

My first step upon undertaking this research was to contact as many South African Africana libraries as possible. I did this by sending an explanatory email to 17 libraries[1]. I hoped to obtain an idea of which libraries would contain material relevant to my research (including translated texts), and also to establish contact with specialist librarians. As it turned out, most of the responses I received stated that more specific information was required from me, that is, the titles of texts, the names of authors, etc. In order to supply such information, I had to go full circle by reading up on the literary history of South Africa. The fact that almost all of the Africana libraries at the time did not have (and perhaps still do not have) electronic catalogues, let alone public-access databases, meant that resource- and time consuming searches at the library had to be undertaken personally.

Because of these limitations, I eventually only obtained data from the following libraries:

Harold Strange Library of African Studies (Johannesburg)
South African Library (Cape Town)
Wartenweiler Library, University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg)

[1] A list of these libraries is appended to the report.

William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg)
University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers (Johannesburg)

As readers will notice from the appended list of libraries, there are at least 15 other Africana libraries that could and should be visited. These are located across the country. My experience tells me that these should either be contacted with specific queries in hand, or be visited for a period of two to three days (depending on the size of the library), in order to get a good overview. Obviously, the more knowledgeable the researcher is about language history in South Africa, the more efficiently s/he would be able to search.

Criteria for determining incorporation of data

Below, I discuss in some detail the elements of the hermeneutical method that informed my approach to the selection and treatment of historical data. Overall, the set of questions described by L. D'hulst (2001: 24) was very useful to me. In this method, the researcher asks the following questions to define what could/should be a part of the research (in this case, into translation history):

- Who was the translator? (This question is concerned with the translator as a person that is part of a family, society, educational system, culture, etc. Not only individuals but also groups or schools of translators may be studied in this way.)

- What kinds of texts were translated? (This question concerns the nature of the texts that have been translated and those that have not been translated.)

- Where and by whom were translations written, printed, published and distributed?

- With whose help were the translations done? (For example, who provided support, and which censors influenced the translations?)

- Why were the translations done? (The answer to the 'why' also raises the question of why translations were done in particular ways.)

- How were translations processed?

- When did the translations take place?

- What effect does translation have? (What is the effect and function of translation on the society(ies) it affects?)

Because of the broad scope of this research report, as well as the resource and time limitations mentioned above, I could not answer all of these questions comprehensively. However, in all three chapters of this report, in aiming to provide a reasonable overview of the field of South African translation history, I have touched on all of these questions. I believe that it would be highly interesting to apply these questions thoroughly to individual texts.

The hermeneutical method

As already indicated above, the way in which I determined how and what to select as relevant data and the manner in which I presented it in this report, was informed by a hermeneutical methodology/approach as formulated by M. Heidegger and H.G. Gadamer, respectively. Both of these philosophers believed that hermeneutics had a particularly useful role to play in the analysis of texts as well as historical events.[2]

At the core of the hermeneutical method is the idea that interpretation or understanding (*verstehen* is the German term used by Heidegger and Gadamer) is shaped by the question with which the interpreting person approaches her subject

[2] Wikipedia provides a user-friendly definition of hermeneutics: "Essentially, hermeneutics involves cultivating the ability to understand things from somebody else's point of view, and to appreciate the cultural and social forces that may have influenced their outlook. Hermeneutics is the process of applying this understanding to interpreting the meaning of written texts and symbolic artifacts (such as art or sculpture or architecture), which may be either historic or contemporary." (Retrieved September 2007 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermeneutics.)

(R.E. Palmer, 1969: 66)[3]. This kind of approach places the observer, along with all her life experiences, in the midst of the research itself: the selection of the material as well as the interpretation and representation of it is always influenced by the researcher's own subjectivity. Equally, the hermeneutical method also provides ample space for the humanity or subjectivity of the research object, so that each historical event and/or product is understood to involve some form of expression by a human being within a particular cultural context.

G. Schapiro and A. Sica (1984: 4) explain that hermeneutics is "a philosophical activity or praxis" that seeks to edify rather than to reconstruct, and that the broad aim of it is "to make such understanding [i.e., what is distant in time and culture] meaningful for life and thought".

Accordingly, I have acknowledged my own role in the gathering and representation of the research data, and, just as importantly, am pointing out this fact to my readers. Secondly, I have also tried to incorporate into my research contextual details that pertain to the translation events being discussed: I have provided biographical and contextual information about individual translators and interpreters; I have discussed socio-political historical circumstances; and I have made occasional remarks pointing out the contrast or similarity between historical and present circumstances.

Inspired by the words of Palmer (1969: 7), who, in the following comment pertaining to the hermeneutical method, says, "Dialogue, not dissection, opens up the world of a literary work", I can say that I believe I immersed my 21st-century self in the material I researched, not in order to provide a terminally defined explanation of what I saw, but to bring the material into the present in order to engage with it and hopefully to understand something of it. I hope I will succeed in bringing some kind of understanding to the reader as well.

[3] In this case the overarching question with which I approached this research was: "What translations were being done in South Africa during 1652–1860 and who was doing them?" It was only when I found some answers to those questions that I also started asking why and how the translators did what they did.

Also implicit in the hermeneutical approach I have just described is that the researcher's data is not formulated in a way that falls within the interpretive framework established by someone else. For example, I could have presented my research in a form that would serve as a demonstration of W. Mignolo's point of view (2000: 9) that translation from the 16th century through to modern times has served as a colonial tool, especially in cultures where there was no existing alphabet or literature. Mignolo focuses on the idea that translation not only served to reinforce the coloniser's cultural superiority, but also "was the special tool to absorb the colonial difference[4] previously established." Although Mignolo's view may well be true, or at least hold some truth, I have not used this concept as the magnifying glass with which to interpret my data. *However*, it is unavoidable, having read parts of his book, that his views on translation have become a part of my understanding of the subject, and hence colour my representation of it.

Lastly, I wish to point out that in order to determine which material to include into the overview and the catalogue, I delimited a semi-permeable research boundary that included translation activity that resulted in published translations. Why is this boundary 'semi-permeable'? The answer to that is: because the overview also provides some description of translating activities that do not strictly fall within the boundary, especially where these reveal much about how translation processes took place; for example, with regard to interpreters and interpreting activities.

Catalogue of Translated Texts: South Africa 1652–1860

As mentioned above, a catalogue of translated texts accompanies this research report. Although it is not complete, it contains a record of every translated text falling into the relevant time period that I could find at the libraries I visited. I will provide further details about this catalogue in its introduction. Since there is at present no catalogue of South African translated texts for the time period I covered in my research, I

[4] Mignolo explains that "By 'colonial differences' I mean, through my argument (and I should perhaps say 'the colonial difference'), the classification of the planet in the modern/colonial imaginary, by enacting coloniality of power, an energy and a machinery to transform differences into values. If racism is the matrix that permeates every domain of the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system, "Occidentalism" is the overarching metaphor around which colonial differences have been articulated and rearticulated through the changing hands in the history of capitalism (Arrighi 1994) and the changing ideologies motivated by imperial conflicts." (Mignolo, 2000: 13)

believe the compilation of one would be helpful to translation history researchers, as well as being of general historical interest.

I am aware that some bibliographers, for example, R.M. Nicholas and A.E. Standley (1984: 7), state that one of the golden rules of bibliography is that the original (the primary text) should be examined whenever possible. This was overwhelmingly not possible for me to do in the course of my research. I soon realised that I could therefore not name my collection of text titles a 'bibliography'; instead, it is called a catalogue. Most of the named texts in the catalogue have been found through reference in secondary sources.

Chapter outline

In the three chapters that follow this Introduction, the individuals, organisations and societies that figured in the field of South African secular, bible and literary translation during the above-mentioned period of approximately 200 years have been discussed. The focus is thus both on individuals as well as on intercultural activity.

Chapter One provides an outline of the period 1652 to ~1750, during which time little translation activity was happening in South Africa. Nonetheless, I believe this time period deserves some description, not just for the few translation activities that took place, but also for the background that it provides for the next two chapters. Students who are interested in pursuing research in this area would find the archives of the Van Riebeeck Society[5] a good starting point.

Chapter Two describes missionary translation activities from ~1750 to 1860, and gives mini portraits of various interpreters and translators. I have included details of their personal experiences, the translation work they did and their publications. These sketches of missionary-translators are not intended to be thorough portrayals (several of these missionaries have in any event already been biographers' subjects), but rather impressions of what translators did in those times. For students with an interest in this

[5] The Society's website (http://www.vanriebeecksociety.co.za) provides a summary of the archive contents.

area, these brief depictions might provide a starting point – the amount of material available for research is fairly copious.

Chapter Three also covers the period ~1750 to 1860, but focuses exclusively on non-religious translation activities. A broad outline of language events that affected translation activity is provided, and a number of what could perhaps be called the earliest professional translators are discussed, albeit briefly. These translators, with their unorthodox, varied lives, were of particular interest to me and I regret that I could not do more research on them. I believe there is much material for students of translation history to uncover here, as this section offers a wide range of data, including Arabic texts, theatrical and literary productions, and indigenous folk stories and myths.

This overview of South Africa's early translation history concludes in 1860, just before the Afrikaans language began to coalesce, and just as the efforts of the missionaries began to spread into the secular world of letters in South Africa (journalism, literature, poetry)[6].

[6] Ntuli & Swanepoel (1993: 18–19) believe that "The various British, American and European mission societies – which all settled in Southern Africa during the course of the 19th century – made a five-fold contribution to the cultural life of the African people of the region: the spreading of the Christian message; the introduction of literacy; the development of the different languages as written languages; the establishment of printing presses; and the development of religious and later on secular literatures."

Chapter 1

In the beginning there were adventurers, travellers, traders and hunters

A discussion (on the dearth) of translations and their context in the period 1652 – ~1750

This chapter has been named not only for the European visitors to the southern African content, but also for its indigenous people, for both groups in their way were travellers (insofar as nomads are travellers too) and hence adventurers, as well as traders and hunters. Both groups were undoubtedly brave as they encountered each other with almost nothing in common but their humanity. I wonder if this was not the time in which the two groups – European and African – were on their most equal footing: neither understanding the language or the lives of the other; neither really knowing what the other wanted; neither having the faintest idea of what the results of this contact would bring.

As already suggested, in some ways this first chapter is out of place in a discussion on translation **activity** in South African history: there are less than ten translation 'products' or 'events' mentioned in this chapter, which covers a period of about a hundred years. Although this is largely due to the small amount of relevant information I found during the course of my research, I believe that further exploration into this time period might yield more information. And although this chapter essentially serves as a background to the following chapters, it is worth noting that even if the recorded translation data for this time period may be meagre, a knowledge of the kind of language activities that were taking place in general will provide good indicators towards unknown or unrecorded events that pertain more directly to the subject of investigation.

Furthermore, because tracing language history is – within a broader definition of translation as an intercultural rather than an interlingual event – almost indistinguishable from tracing translation history, this chapter also discusses some of the languages that were used in the early Cape Colony, although some of these no

longer exist and neither did they play a big role in the ongoing development of the remaining African languages, Dutch, and English. Nonetheless, their influence can still be traced today.

As part of the discussion on non-recorded translation (or language) history, it should be pointed out that the vast majority of Cape colonists could no more have written down the language of their Khoisan neighbours than the Khoisan could have transcribed that of the colonists'. Not only were many colonists completely illiterate, but the majority of them were in the Cape for purely exploitative reasons. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that the traditional Khoisan way of life, their languages and their orally transmitted history and mythology would ultimately be erased by the European presence, and that translation between the two languages would scarcely be attempted at all. Instead, a fundamental translation of sorts would take place between the two cultures: Cape colonists, the Khoisan and the slaves would eventually blend to form a new culture and language called Afrikaans.

* * *

For the sake of providing context, I would like to go back briefly to the period preceding the earliest time boundary of my research – the time in which the very first contacts were made between Europeans and Africans.

Possibly the earliest exchange between European and African men on the southern African continent took place in the 15th century. Not only did Portuguese sailors go ashore on the western and southern African beaches from time to time, but Geraldine Coldham (1966: i) tells us that there were "isolated attempts at missionary work by the Portuguese in South Africa and Angola in the 15th century." Regrettably, there are few or no records of the interaction between Europeans and Africans at this time, except for the notes of the missionaries and in the diaries of some of the sailors who stopped off at the southern African coast on their way to the East. Although the influence of such early missionaries was short-lived, these first efforts were nonetheless the harbingers of the eventual co-existence of Europeans and Africans in southern Africa, and represented the first drops of European culture into African

culture. The result, centuries later, would not only be a dramatic change in the African way of life, but also an emergence of entirely new nations.

The hitherto slight European influence on African cultures was increased in 1613 when the crew of an English ship, the *Hector*, captured two Khoikhoi men and took them on board. One of these men died on the journey, but the other, called 'Coree', survived and was taken to England. After his return to South Africa in June 1614, his status amongst his own people increased greatly as a result of his experience with the English, and especially because of his role as the English-Khoikhoi go-between (S. Gray, 1979). If we allow that interpretation is intrinsically a translation activity, this event perhaps also represents the very beginning of the 'history of translation in South Africa'. In the same way, Coree could be labelled the first South African interpreter.

But Coree apparently disappeared in 1626, forcing the English to find another mediator. This time they chose a *strandloper* (i.e., a Khoikhoi who lived along the beach and did not own cattle) called Autshumato, whom they called 'Harry' or 'Herry'. The English taught him their language and took him to the East Indies in 1631. When he was returned to South Africa, he became the custodian of letters that were left at the Cape by the various ships sailing around it.[1] By the time the Dutch founded their station at the Cape in 1652, Autshumato was still there and played an important part in the new settlement, serving as the interpreter between the Khoikhoi and Jan van Riebeeck and his company of men, who needed him primarily for obtaining livestock and/or meat. Eventually, however, believing that Autshumato had not allowed negotiations between the Khoi and the Dutch to progress as well as they should, Van Riebeeck decided to sidestep Autshumato, and banished him to Robben Island (H. Deacon (a), n.d.). Subsequently, Van Riebeeck took into his household a young Khoi girl named Krotoa, who was purported to have been Autshumato's niece. She was renamed 'Eva', and trained to become an interpreter. (Deacon (b), n.d.)

Although Eva was taught Dutch, she was never taught to read and write. Gray (1979: 43) quotes the following from Van Riebeeck's diaries:

[1] The Dutch also had a letter custodian or 'postman', called 'Isaac', who was taken to Bantam in 1642, but Isaac disappeared around 1646.

> … Krotoa … 'fell under the benevolent protection of our fort'[2] before her teens … and she was by us called Eva, who has been in the service of the Commander's wife from the beginning and now is living here permanently and is beginning to learn to speak Dutch well'.
>
> (*Journals*, vol. 2, p. 170)

Gray further mentions that Eva became the Dutch East India Company's (DEIC's) most reliable interpreter in matters of general diplomacy to do with the adjacent Khoikhoi tribes, and that she learned to speak Portuguese. He also comments that

> Eva is at her best in the *Journals* when in open competition with the fort's other Hottentot interpreter, Doman (also called 'Dominee', on account of his mild appearance). Whereas Eva was merely wily, Doman possessed the opposite side of that virtue – guile, so much so that by June 1658 Van Riebeeck somewhat ruefully noted: 'We sincerely wish that he had never been to Batavia [where he learned his Dutch], or that he may be induced to go back by fair words; there he has learned to use firearms effectively, and we are now obliged to exercise great care to keep them out of his hands' (*Journals*, vol. 2, p. 289)

South Africa's first 'translators', then, were pre-literate and comparatively unsophisticated interpreters, the first of whom had been abducted as a curiosity to be shown-off to the people back home, and the others adopted as household servants.

Given their displacement from their own society and subsequent replanting into an alien culture in which they cannot have been unaware of their inferior social status (and which status must have been in stark contrast to the position they held amongst their own people: respected, even although perhaps somewhat distrusted if not rejected outright for their association with the colonists), the purported 'wiliness' and 'guile' of the Khoi interpreters towards their employers is not altogether surprising.

The Dutch language amongst the Khoisan

The Dutch language was taken up by the indigenous Khoisan people of the Cape very quickly. In the astonishingly short period of five years (i.e., by 1657), many of the Khoisan near the Dutch settlement could already understand and speak much Dutch.

[2] Thom, H.B. (ed) 1952, *Journals of Jan van Riebeeck*, Cape Town, vol.1, p. 208

Unfortunately, and despite their obvious linguistic ability[3], the Khoisan people were accorded the lowest position in the Cape social hierarchy, and were usually regarded as being even more lowly than the slaves. While the slaves, especially those of Asian origin, had recognisable, even acknowledged religions, cultures and literatures, the Khoisan had none such that were recognised by the other social groups, and were consequently regarded as unintelligent, or even as scarcely human.

The original Khoisan language pool was not insignificant to start out with. A. Traill (1995) offers an estimate of 100 000—200 000 Khoikhoi in South Africa in 1652. But,

> Within sixty years of that date, 'the traditional Khoikhoi economy, social structure, and political order had almost entirely collapsed' (Elphick 1985: xvii), and smallpox epidemics in 1713, 1735 and 1767 had ravaged the population, wiping out virtually all of the western Cape Khoikhoi.
>
> (Gray, 1979: 162–163)

Consequently, the western Cape Khoi language started to disappear by the 1750s, gradually being replaced by Khoi-Dutch (or pidgin Dutch). The eastern Khoi languages were absorbed into Xhosa as a result of political incorporation of the Khoi chiefdoms (Gray, 1979: 162–163). This, in turn, gave rise to the Gonaqua (Gona) and later the Gqunukwebe languages in which Khoi linguistic features were dominant. However, although Gona was a Khoi language, it was sufficiently different from the western Cape Khoi language for its users to have difficulties in understanding it. By the beginning of the 19th century, even the language of the Gonaqua was beginning to die out "with children tending to know either Dutch if their parents were farm workers, or Xhosa is they lived in Xhosa villages. But it was not yet dead, and much of the preaching of the early Hottentots was done in Gona" (Sales 1975: 10, cited by Traill 1995). Apparently "[the missionary] Van der Kemp felt it was necessary at the time to produce a Khoe catechism, … indicat[ing] that the Khoe language still had some vitality even then." (Sales 1975: 29, cited by Traill 1995) And although "preaching was held in Gona as well as Dutch … this was considered to be a temporary measure, for it was assumed that within a generation at least, Dutch would

[3] Regarding the multi-lingualism of the /Xam people, H. Van Vuuren, (1995:133) has pointed out that "… although our main access to the /Xam oral tradition is through the belaboured Victorian English translations of Bleek, Afrikaans or Dutch had actually been the /Xam speakers' second language."

be the language of all the people at Bethelsdorp [mission station]" (Sales 1975: 10, cited by Traill 1995).

Ultimately, the adoption of the Dutch language by the Khoisan people and the political and social ascendancy of the Dutch over these people almost entirely eliminated the need for Dutch-Khoi interpreters by the end of the 18th century.

Khoisan languages, in correspondence with the low social status of its speakers and with the dismissive attitude of the colonists, faced extreme linguistic prejudice. The languages were considered by the European colonists to be coarse, bizarre, inarticulate and sub-human, and hence were considered unlearnable. Thomas Pringle, overhearing the language spoken at Van Der Kemp's Bethelsdorp mission station, records it as sounding like 'uncouth cluckings'. With the exception of a few missionaries and the linguist, Dr. W.H.I. Bleek and his assistants, nobody bothered to learn Khoisan languages or to teach the Khoisan people to read or write. Of course, not all missionaries had the linguistic ability or determination of a Van Der Kemp: When the Moravian missionary, Georg Schmidt, first started his work amongst the Khoikhoi in 1737 at Baviaanskloof (later called Genadendal), he tried to learn the language but found he could not imitate the clicks. Finding the Khoi language too difficult, he therefore began to teach the people in Dutch, relying upon an interpreter. Amazingly, within three years he was distributing Dutch New Testaments to those who had learnt to read.[4]

Following in Schmidt's footsteps in 1799, the missionaries J.J. Kicherer and W. Edwards founded the first mission to the ǀXam on the Zak (Sak) River. They found the ǀXam language was "so difficult to learn that no one can spell or write the same", and concluded that this was the reason that none of the missionaries succeeded in mastering it (Du Plessis 1965: 104–5, cited by Traill 1995).[5]

---

[4] Schmidt taught some of the Hessequa people to read and to build (gardens, kraals, barns, a threshing floor). C. Malherbe (1984:51) tells us that in 1742 Schmidt baptised five of the Hessequa people. When Schmidt left them in 1744, one of the Hessequa women, named Magdalena, would read from her bible to the other Khoi. When the Moravians returned in 1792 to Baviaanskloof, Magdalena was still alive.

[5] For those who are interested, Malherbe (1984:5) has explained the typical Khoi click sounds as follows:
// click in the side of the mouth, like you would utter to get a horse moving
/ a click like that of a tutting sound in order to say 'what a shame'

It took immense efforts, most of it too little too late, to get Khoisan language and oral literature recorded, let alone respected. Despite vestigial traces of the Khoisan languages in Afrikaans, the former have disappeared and survive almost exclusively in place names. They have been rescued from complete erasure only by the work of linguists such as the above-mentioned Dr. W.H.I. Bleek, his daughter Dorothea Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy C. Lloyd (who compiled /Xam dictionaries and vocabularies and translated folk stories in the Nama language), as well as the work of a very few missionaries who translated Khoisan folk stories and the Scriptures.

The French Huguenots

Another largely disregarded language group that lived for a while in the Cape before becoming assimilated into the Dutch colonists' culture was the French Huguenots, who first arrived in South Africa in Saldanha Bay in 1688, and were followed by compatriots until 1700. Together, they made up the largest batch of immigrants to come at one time during the 143 years that the DEIC ruled the Cape.

Whilst the DEIC initially did not object to the first Huguenots using their own language, by 1706 a law had been passed that stated that Dutch would be the only official language permitted at the Cape. Although this law was temporarily relaxed in 1718, so that a French church service was allowed to be held after a Dutch service, the last recorded French service was at the funeral of a Mrs Jacob Naudé in 1724. By 1726, the Drakenstein Church Council directed that there should be no further services in French.

C. Danziger (1978), however, has pointed out that the DEIC's policy was not the chief cause of the death of the French language in South Africa, since the policy was often not carried out in any case. Visitors to the Cape at that time also recorded no complaint by Huguenots that their language was being suppressed. It seems that the more common reasons for language death – minority group status (the French

---

! a click that sounds like the popping of a cork, done with the tongue
≠ is the click that a baby makes with its tongue just behind its teeth

represented only 16% of the European population), intermarriage between the dominant and minority language groups, and trading and other economic factors – were the primary causes of the disappearance of French at the Cape. When the French astronomer, Nicolas Louis de la Caille, visited the Cape in 1752, he noted that only a handful of the children of the original settlers could still speak French, and in 1780 another French traveller, François Le Vaillant, claimed that he met only one old man who understood French. By 1806, a visitor to the Cape named John Barrow recorded that

> … not a word of the French language is spoken or understood by any of the colonists, although there are many still living whose parents were both of that nation. Neither is a French book of *any* kind to be seen in their houses.
>
> (Danziger, 1978)

Yet, it was a Huguenot who was not only the author of what is very likely the first book written on South African soil, but also the first translator to ply his art here. This was a Christian minister called Pierre Simond, who was amongst the first Huguenots to arrive in the Cape Colony. He was a keen advocate of 'civilising' the Khoikhoi, more especially of converting them to Christianity. This he intended to do by sending Europeans to live among them, rather than resettling them in the areas occupied by settlers. Although he could not speak Dutch, he was an educated man who spent the evenings on his mountain farm reading (he apparently received a case of books from Europe twice) and translating the Psalms of David into unrhymed French verse under the title, *Les Veillés Africanes* ('African Watch Hours') (J.M. Marais Louw, 1979).

Marais Louw further tells us that at about the age of 50 Simond wanted to return to Holland, and had to ask permission from the DEIC's directors, the Council of Seventeen (*Heren XVII*), for permission to do this. He intended to show his version of the Psalms of David to the Synod of the Reformed Church, who was looking for a new translation of this text. He got permission to sail and he and his children sailed back to Holland in 1702. Unfortunately, the Synod refused his translation, and a deeply disappointed Simond later paid for the publication of his book as well as of one of his sermons (which is the only 17th century sermon delivered at the Cape to

survive). Apparently, only one copy of his translation of the Psalms of David exists today and may be found "in the library at Geneva".

In addition to the above-mentioned reasons for the demise of French at the Cape, Marais Louw (1979: 77) offers two further explanations. She comments that many Huguenots already knew Dutch from numerous years spent in Holland as refugees, and that the departure of Pierre Simond from the Cape Colony, "who spoke a pure, cultured French hastened the dying-out of the French language".

Language survival is strongest when it is based on everyday use, and when its speakers are literate, allowing the development of a written literature. Apparently the Huguenots lived isolated lives, eking out a living from raw land:

> They possessed little beyond the barest necessities for keeping body and soul together. They had no time to write letters or to keep diaries or journals. Some were not even very good at signing their names, let alone spelling them. We know so little about [the Huguenot's] daily lives because they were too poor and too overworked to have leisure time for writing anything down.
>
> (Marais Louw, 1970: 86)

Isolation, poverty and hard work were likely also significant reasons for the near absence of any kind of translation activity in the rest of the early Cape Colony. Thus, although some of the conditions that usually give rise to translation activity were present, such as multiple languages in one geographical region (there were at least Dutch, French, German and Khoisan spoken), other factors such as cultural distance, technological disparity, illiteracy or pre-literacy and a lack of resources meant that the majority of the people at the Cape saw absolutely no need for translations.

'Malayo'/*Baster Portugees* and pidgin Dutch; the emergence of Afrikaans

Such factors had an equally detrimental effect on the transmission of the languages of the Indian, Malaysian and African slaves imported to the Cape in the 18th century, many of whom were Muslims. In his foreword to F.R. Bradlow and M. Cairns' history, *Early Cape Muslims* (1978), Achmat Davids points out that the paucity of

information on early Cape Muslim language and culture is due to the fact that their history was transmitted almost exclusively by word of mouth, and that such sources are of limited historical value since early commentators on Cape Muslims concentrated heavily on the anecdotal. He adds that such data is "tinted and obscured by folklore and fiction".

However, many of the Cape Colony slaves, unlike the Khoikhoi, did have a level of literacy, often in Arabic. Evidence of this literacy is given by Bradlow and Cairns (1978: 34) who point out that there are indications in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanacs and Directories* that Muslim names daunted the compilers thereof, and that women's names appear in different guises: "Such divergences are possibly the consequence of the endeavour to render in western characters, a name of eastern origin written in Arabic script in the Malayan tongue." (1978: 59) This tells us that at least some Asian slaves could write.

Most of the Muslim slaves came from Bengal in India, whilst others came from Ceylon, Macao and other islands in the Malay archipelago, which is now known as Indonesia. But the Cape Malay slaves spoke a language called 'Malay' or 'Malayo', which was the trading language of a vast geographical area stretching from Madagascar to China and which incorporated a number of Dutch and Portuguese words. Even Malagasy (the language used in Madagascar, whence many slaves were brought to the Cape) was a Malayo-Indonesian language. This trading language, which became known in the Cape as *Krom-* or *Baster Portuguees*, was also commonly spoken by Europeans living in the Cape.

Few records of this early Cape language remain, despite its widespread usage. Bradlow and Cairns (1978: 84) narrate that a traveller to the Cape in circa 1765, Mrs Kindersley, reported that "what seems extraordinary is that [the Malays] do not learn to talk Dutch, but the Dutch immigrants learn their dialect, which is called Portuguese, and is a corruption of that language." Another commentator, J.L.M. Franken, remarks that "we can … accept that the [DEIC] Council members prior to

1700 had a good knowledge of at least Portuguese and Malaysian".[6] (*Die Huisgenoot*, 23 May 1930. p. 41, cited in Bradlow & Cairns, 1978, p. 84.) He goes on to refer to the records of the Swedish naturalist and traveller, Anders Sparrman, who also comments on the use of the Malay language by both Europeans and Africans:

> … farther up the country, where they have no other servants than Hottentots, the children of the Christians frequently learn the Hottentot language more easily and before they do Dutch. The same thing happens with regard to the Malay tongue in those places where they make use of slaves, especially of nurses of that nation.

And when visiting Alphen in 1772, Sparrman reported that some slaves conferred with each other in broken Portuguese or Malay, and that this language, Malayo-Portuguese, was the main language of slaves in the Cape in the 1700s.

The usage of this pre-Creole Portuguese-Malay language was so widespread in the Cape Colony in the years 1658–1685 that it left a very distinct impression on the Dutch language of the Cape at the time. But because of the regular arrivals of new settlers and DEIC officials to the colony, the creolisation of the 'bastard language' was never fully completed. Eventually, *Baster Portugees* in the Cape Colony died in about 1800 as a result of its incorporation into the emerging Afrikaans language. However, there were still small signs of it well into the middle of the 19th century. I.D. Du Plessis (1972: 15) tells us that

> According to Mayson[7], 'Malay' was still heard at the Cape in 1855. He was probably referring to Malay-Portuguese, the language used by the servants of the Dutch East India Company as a lingua franca both in the East and at the Cape. It must have been on the wane, as those Malays who were born round this period only retained words and phrases.

P.T. Roberge (1995: 75) has pointed out that it was "the conserving influence of the Dutch church and Bible", that is, literacy, that determined the ultimate linguistic supremacy of Dutch over the pre-Creole language. Before the British came, Dutch had been the language of education and refinement, and the emerging language that is

[6] My translation of "Ons kan dus desnoords aanneem dat ook by die Raadslede van voor 1700 oor 'n voldoende kennis van ten minste Portugees en Maleis beskik het."
[7] J.S. Mayson, *On the Malays of Cape Town* (1861), 1963 Cape Town: African Connoisseurs Press

now known as Afrikaans was regarded as a common vernacular, unsuitable for higher purposes. (Dekker, 1947: 6)

Baster Portugees was not only used by slaves and the Dutch – the Khoikhoi used it too. Indeed, it appears that Cape slaves learnt this language from the Khoikhoi. Roberge (1995), in an article on the formation of the Afrikaans language, has written that

> From as early as 1590, when the Dutch and English started calling at the Cape of Good Hope, there came into existence a jargon used between Europeans and indigenous Khoikhoi. From 1658 slaves were brought in from West Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar, India, Ceylon and Indonesia. The slaves acquired this trade language in their encounters with the Khoikhoi and contributed their own modifications; it became stabilised as a pidgin[8] during the last decades of the seventeenth century (den Besten 1986: 192-201, 1989: 217-24). Creolisation[9] occurred first in the western Cape around 1700, after the withdrawal of Khoikhoi into the interior to escape European domination and in the wake of the smallpox epidemic of 1713 that decimated their population.

And the eventual nativisation of the Cape Dutch pidgin "was effected by slaves, the mixed offspring of Khoikhoi who remained behind, and other free people of colour. … The retreating Khoikhoi took with them their own variety of Cape Dutch pidgin (possibly itself on the fringes of creolisation), which they later deployed in their encounters with *trekboeren* (migrant farmers)…" (Roberge, 1995)[10]

It is from this linguistic background that the Afrikaans language eventually emerged in approximately 1860.

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[8] Refers to a language that has no native speakers and that develops from the interaction (mostly for trade) between speakers of three or more different languages. The pidgin language will contain elements of all the base languages, but is at this stage not yet a fully developed language. (Adapted from Wikipedia, retrieved 13 September 2007 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pidgin)

[9] The language development stage that follows pidginisation, where the pidgin language evolves into a fully-developed creole language. Creolisation happens because people, especially children, develop a native capacity in the language and its structures change over time. (Adapted from Wikipedia, retrieved on 13 September 2007 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creole_language)

[10] The Khoi languages still remain with us, albeit in a small way. C. Malherbe (1984: 76) points out that "English and Afrikaans have borrowed words from the Hottentot language: kierie, kudu and quagga are examples. The Xhosa, who traded and mixed with the Khoi, picked up many Hottentot words. The clicks in the Xhosa speech come from their contact with the Khoi. These clicks are also found in Zulu. There are thousands of Khoi names in southern Africa. Okiep, Prieska, Kakamas, Cango, Kowie, Gourits and Keiskamma are a few of them."

* * *

Throughout this period, up until the end of the 18th century, European explorer-hunter-adventurers ventured to travel deeper and longer into Africa. These travellers[11] produced their own literature about southern Africa, which was often no less fantastic than the sailors' narratives that preceded them. And of course not only adventurers probed the southern African continent. Christian missionaries, too, saw a role to play here:

> …explorers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries travelled across vast unmapped areas, braving climate, disease and the not unnaturally hostile inhabitants. In their wake, and sometimes ahead of them, were the pioneer missionaries of the Gospel. Many died, many of them lost wives and children and health, but those who survived taught and healed and preached, laying the foundations of the African Churches of today…
>
> (Coldham, 1966)

This takes us to the next chapter, in which the first translation activities in southern Africa are discussed. Although these activities centred almost exclusively around Christian missionaries, who were obliged to go to great lengths in order to convert natives of southern Africa, there was also some translation activity that had nothing to do with religion, and this will be discussed in Chapter Three.

[11] Including Anders Sparrman (publ. 1772–5), Henry Lichtenstein (publ. 1803–6), François Le Vaillant (publ. 1806), John Campbell (publ. 1816), Roualeyn Gordon Cumming (publ. 1850), William Paterson, Carl Peter Thunberg, and others.

Chapter 2

And then there was the word of God

A discussion of scriptural translations and their context in the period ~1750 – 1860, with particular focus on missionary activities

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Africa is deeply indebted to missionaries who first reduced the indigenous languages to writing – in South Africa seven languages had to be so dealt with. Missionaries also early distributed literature on this continent, and later went on to encourage Africans to produce the first fruits of indigenous authorship.

(G.C. Oosthuizen, 1970: 140)

While the quotation above has truth to it – for had the early missionaries not studied and recorded the African languages, we would not know much of what we know today of early South African indigenous culture – it should also be remembered that the gains made by recording African languages were often undermined by a failure of missionaries to recognise the intrinsic value of African culture and oral traditions. This omission brought about a sometimes inadvertent and sometimes deliberate erasure of aspects of African traditional culture.[1]

Missionaries were first and foremost men on a Christian mission. They were also products of an imperialistic culture, and their transcriptions inevitably reflected these factors. Always bearing this in mind, we can also marvel at how prodigious missionaries and their converts were in the amount of literature they succeeded in producing under adverse circumstances. Indeed, there is so much material relevant to this chapter of the research report that it alone could quite easily fulfil, and exceed, the entire length requirements for this kind of project. I have therefore trimmed the

[1] At this point I would like to make explicit that I am aware that the attitude of missionaries and colonists in general was chauvinistic towards African people and cultures, and that my awareness of this surely results from changed attitudes that prevail in most open-minded circles today. In this research report I have chosen not to point out chauvinism wherever it appears, as this would not only increase the length of the report but would also distract from the main purpose of describing translation activities in this period.

material and tried to discuss only some of the more prolific or well-known missionary translators.

The arrival of missionaries at the Cape of southern Africa more or less represents the advent of translation in South Africa. For it was the missionaries – who were bound to spread the word of their god – that recognised the importance of literacy in the influencing of people. The written word of Christian theology certainly hastened the establishment of Christianity in African nomadic and other tribal cultures, and without it the Christian doctrine may never have lasted into the 18th century (and beyond) in those cultures. A significant number of the early missionaries also learnt indigenous African languages. Indeed, some of these men were highly interested and gifted linguists who made it their life's work to study and record one or more African languages.

It was in this period of South African history that translation became a recognised and important part of the white man's role of educator and 'civiliser' amongst the native Africans. For missionaries translation was a part of their conversion attempts, and for colonists it was a part of political and economic strategy. According to the English missionary, R.H.W. Shepherd (1940), "The arrival of missionaries in South Africa also represented the first step towards the provision of facilities for advancing the education of native peoples in the area." This meant not only the advent of literacy for African people, but also the reduction of African languages to writing. Missionaries were the first group of Europeans who tried to achieve an understanding of native African culture, although their focus remained on the transformation and conversion of natives into 'civilised beings' and Christians, rather than on a validation and preservation of African culture. Even a successful missionary such as Robert Moffat, who, after spending decades amongst the Batswana people and learning their language by the 'immersion' method, was still capable of commenting that he would not bother with a description of the manners and customs of the Bechuanas, as this would be neither very instructive nor very edifying (Moffat, 1969: 249).

Moffat's activities and attitudes will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter, as will those of several other missionary-translators. However, before embarking upon those descriptions, I would like to provide some background data

regarding the Cape Colony population at about 1800, not just for the purpose of orientation and identification of proper nouns used for various ethnic groups, but also as a reminder of the varied linguistic environment in the colony in the late 18th and 19th centuries:

Elements in the population included British officials and military staff, Dutch colonists (many of French and German descent), Khoikhoi (called 'Hottentots'), San (called 'Bushmen'), slaves, and Xhosa (called 'Caffres', who were advancing tribesmen on the eastern frontier borders). The population numbered approximately 22,000 Europeans over a vast area (7,000 of whom resided in Cape Town); 2,500 slaves in Cape Town; 15,000 Khoikhoi, of whom 10,000 lived in the eastern parts of the colony; a few thousand San in the northern colony; and a varying number of approximately 1,000 Xhosa living in the eastern parts and frontier of the colony. (Extracted from I.H. Enklaar, 1988: 75-77)

* * *

JOHANNES THEOPHILUS VAN DER KEMP

Some 50 years after the very first missionary to the Cape had departed[2], Dr Johannes Theophilus Van Der Kemp of the London Missionary Society (LMS) arrived in Cape Town on 31 March 1799. He and his fellows were the first LMS missionaries in South Africa. Van Der Kemp brought with him a 'letter of exhortation' from the LMS, which he translated from English into Dutch in order to read it out during a church service. This letter was printed and turned into an eight-page pamphlet, and became the first religious publication in Cape Town[3]. (Enklaar, 1988: 80)

Van Der Kemp became the first missionary to the Xhosa people and was also one of South Africa's first missionary-translators.[4] During the seven weeks he spent in Cape

[2] This was Georg Schmidt (referred to in Chapter One) of the Moravian Church, who arrived in the Cape in 1737 and departed in March 1744.

[3] Stored in the Archives of the South African Library, Cape Town; there is a copy in Museum SA Sending Gestig.

[4] Whilst referring to the earliest missionary-translators, and for the benefit of other researchers, I should also mention that G.M. Theal (1969: 247) refers to a Portuguese missionary-translator that worked in Mozambique in the early 16th century. He was called Francisco da Trinidade, and lived primarily at Tete. During his time there he mastered the 'Bantu dialect' and prepared a catechism and a

Town, Van Der Kemp obtained some instruction in the Xhosa language from a visiting young farmer who lived near the Xhosa territories. With his rudimentary knowledge of the language, Van Der Kemp then set off eastwards with his colleague, John Edmonds, and a Xhosa interpreter named Oukootzo, with the intention of ministering to the Xhosa people. In about September 1799, he met the great Xhosa chief, Ngqika, and eventually settled in that area:

> During the following sixteen months Dr. van der Kemp wandered between the Tyumie and the Buffalo rivers. His place of longest residence was in the vicinity of where Pirie Mission now stands. It was a period of alternate hopes and fears, of glimmers of success followed by disconcerting failures. … An early discouragement was the departure of his missionary comrade Edmonds. It was only the boldness of the older man that had kept Edmonds going, for the latter had acquired a marked fear and detestation of the Bantu and a strange love for missionary service in Bengal!
>
> (Shepherd, 1940: 9)

As well as "preaching, making a garden, and defending himself against the attacks of those who blamed him for the drought", Van Der Kemp also spent time with Chief Ngqika. (M. Wilson, 1972: 2) In December 1799 Van Der Kemp opened a school where he gave both Dutch and Xhosa reading and writing lessons, although only few of the Xhosa people joined his classes. Most of his pupils were Khoikhoi, and one, strangely, was a Hindu. During this time, Van Der Kemp preached to the Xhosa in Dutch with the help of various interpreters, who were usually of mixed descent.

Enklaar (1988: 100) tells us that in early 1800 Van Der Kemp was still studying Xhosa diligently. Apparently he did not find it difficult, unlike the language of the San people, which he declared to be very complicated. But the language of the Khoikhoi was ultimately the easiest for him to master.

'*confessionario*' in that language. After moving to Sena he also learnt the dialect used by the native people in that area and translated his catechism into it. In a footnote, Theal mentions that he has as yet been unable to obtain copies of these books. (Although the places mentioned in the quote above are not found in South Africa, and therefore do not strictly fall within the ambit of this research report, the fact that the translations are from Portuguese into Bantu languages makes a connection to the subject matter under discussion. Should these translations actually have been done, then they would have preceded the translations of Van Der Kemp, the Rev. Knudsen and John Bennie by about two hundred years.)

Beginning in 1799, Van Der Kemp sent letters to the LMS containing the language information he had gathered. In a letter sent in 1800, he presented a long 'Specimen and Vocabulary of the Caffre Language'. Some interesting detail from these letters is provided by Enklaar (1988: 100):

> Van der Kemp's letters to Holland bear testimony to his intense study of language. He found it difficult to arrange the local language according to a system of grammatical rules, but he soon succeeded in composing a written alphabet. It consisted of 27 letters, eight of which were vowels. In great detail he sought to establish its differences to the Dutch alphabet. He thought that Arabic writing would be more suited to express the sounds, adding a few examples of what he meant. The use of Arabic characters, however, would be too difficult for European readers. On the other hand, the AmaXhosa would have gradually to get used to reading European writing. Moreover, he writes, he did not possess Arabic letters for his small hand press.

Towards the end of 1800, in the face of an actual war and amidst rumours of further impending wars between the colonists and the Xhosa, Van Der Kemp, together with the Khoikhoi with whom he lived and who supplied his needs, decided to leave Ngqika's territory. In addition to his regret over the war, Van Der Kemp had to deal with the disappointment resulting from the Governor of the Cape's decision to forbid any other missionaries to join him at his mission. Having converted only one Xhosa person[5], Van Der Kemp departed the Xhosa believing that his work amongst Ngqika's people had been a failure.

He never returned to Ngqika's lands and instead became increasingly involved with work among the Khoikhoi near Algoa Bay (now known as Port Elizabeth). In 1803, he was allowed by the colonial government to found Bethelsdorp, a village for Khoikhoi people. Part of the government's rationale for allowing this was their hope that the Khoikhoi, who were unwilling to return to their 'masters' on the farms after the Khoikhoi War of Independence (1799–1803), would instead be willing to live with the missionaries.

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[5] This was a young Xhosa herdboy, Ntsikana ka Gabha, who later became an ardent evangelist and in circa 1818 produced the first, and some believe greatest, hymn in Xhosa, *Ulo Thixo omkhulu ngosezulwini*. Although Ntsikana could neither read nor write, he repeated the hymn to his people until they remembered it. According to Ntuli and Swanepoel (1993), Ntsikana also wrote three other hymns, which, together with *Ulo Thixo*, were translated in into English by the 20th century missionary, R.H.W. Shepherd.

At Bethelsdorp Gona was spoken, but this language was fairly rapidly replaced by Dutch and Xhosa. Van Der Kemp had initially prepared a catechism in Gona, but perceiving that the language was being superseded by others, gave it up when he somewhat later saw that the Methodist missionary, W.B. Boyce, was preparing a Gona grammar.

In its early days, the Bethelsdorp mission station developed "a small but devoted core of Khoikhoi evangelists, including Gerrit Sampson, Cupido Kakkerlak, Hendrik Boezak and Jan Goeyman, as well as Dyani Tshatshu, son of a minor Xhosa chief." (Elbourne, 1995) These men were also interpreters, and would visit neighbouring tribes and peoples in order to preach the Gospel. Some of them travelled far, for example Boezak, who was an elephant hunter and who would preach at farms which he passed whilst on his hunting expeditions. They played an important role in the early Christianisation in South Africa, for, "Even when a missionary was present, far more of the actual work of evangelisation would have been carried out by Khoisan assistants in the earliest days than was the case later on." (Elbourne, 1995)

Further information about two such interpreters, Andries Stoffels and Dyani Tshatshu, may be found below.

Evangelising by indigenous interpreters, however, seemed to have inherent dangers for the transmission of the 'true word' of the Bible. Early missionaries, who had no knowledge of native languages, had no way of identifying the nature or accuracy of the message that was being passed on, nor of knowing how this message was received and interpreted. Elbourne (1995) adds that

> …the early history of mission Christianity is one of missionaries slowly struggling to bring indigenous versions of Christianity, and indigenous preachers, back under white control, after an early period of expansion fuelled by African preachers and bearers of news.

It is interesting to speculate on how indigenous people must have received the evangelical messages brought by the missionaries via countrymen that were very often of mixed descent, or if not, were already 'cultural half-breeds', insofar as they

had started to learn and even adopt the customs and language of the Europeans. The scope for the occurrence of amusing or even alarming misinterpretations[6] was considerable.

The following extract from the journals of Robert Moffat (1842) is illustrative:

> The interpreter, who cannot himself read, and who understands very partially what he is translating, if he is not a very humble one, will, as I have often heard, introduce a cart-wheel, or an ox-tail into some passage of simple sublimity of Holy Writ, just because some word in the sentence had a similar sound. Thus the passage, 'The salvation of the soul is a great and important subject'; The salvation of the soul is a very great *sack*, must sound strange indeed.

Moffat (1842) also records that

> The natives will smile, and make allowances for the blundering speeches of the missionary; and though some may convey the very opposite meaning to that which he intends, they know from his general character what it should be, and ascribe the blunder to his ignorance of the language. They are not so charitable towards his interpreter, whose interest it is to make them believe that he is master of a language of which they know nothing, and consequently they take for granted, that all is correct which comes through his lips. I have been very much troubled in my mind on hearing the most erroneous renderings have been given to what I had said. Since acquiring the language, I have had opportunities of discovering this with my own ears, by hearing sentences translated, which at one moment were calculated to excite no more than a smile, while others would produce intense agony of mind from their bordering on blasphemy, and which the interpreter gave as the word of God.

Sometimes disinterest or boredom chased the local people away from the missionaries. It cannot have been pleasant for the Xhosa to hear messages (possibly bizarrely interpreted) that continually reminded them of their wicked nature and the urgent need to perform onerous duties, when so far everything had been functioning well enough. Shepherd's (1940) account of the polite disappearance of the Xhosa upon realising that the local preacher was coming, is rather amusing:

> The missionaries were not always given a 'patient' hearing by the Xhosa. At some village they might at first be warmly welcomed and the meetings they

[6] If that is the right word, considering that to this day there are disputes about the interpretation of the Bible, even amongst people from the same culture and religious tradition.

> held be well attended. But after a time attendances would fall away and the missionaries even find their appearance to be the signal for the men to depart for milking and the women to hide in the bush. Sometimes the people would move out of the district in a body under the pretext of procuring grass for their cattle.

Rather than cast doubt on the interest value of 'The Word', Shepherd (1940) writes that the cause for the Xhosa people's avoidance of the missionaries was that

> … their neighbours had begun to jeer at them for being religious and sarcastically to call them teachers. Even in such cases, however, the people sought to go in peace, generally by leaving for the missionary a gift of milk before departing.

The realities of living on the land, with no other people or government to turn to for help when things got rough, was another reason for the Bantu to lose interest in the messages brought by the missionaries:

> When drought occurred, the Bantu people suffered extremely. The ground became bare and the cattle died; and the people would live on roots and water for months and become very thin. In their desperation they would loot or raid the cattle and sheep of the colonists and even the missionaries, and would lose interest in the Word of God.
>
> (Shepherd, 1940)

There were of course many other obstacles in the way of the missionaries. Not least of all was the completely natural desire of the native people to retain their own customs and habits and to regard foreigners' customs as strange[7], as well as the universal inclination of human beings to resist change. Shepherd (1940) remarks that the Xhosa, while showing friendliness towards the missionaries and even being protective of them in times of war, would generally make things difficult for any members of the tribe who showed an inclination to embrace the new faith. Shepherd also recognises that the Xhosa instinctively felt, "not without reason, that their interests were seriously threatened by the encroachments of the nation that was bringing the Gospel to them." Indeed, he relates that as early as 1830, a Xhosa "declared that as the schools increased so the country was taken from them."

[7] For example, apparently the Xhosa found the burying grounds and graves of the Europeans gruesome. In their culture, bodies would simply be left to the predations of the elements and the animals.

It is a regrettable and ironic fact that missionaries simultaneously helped to bring an end to traditional native cultures, while also trying harder than any other European social institution of the time to preserve the dignity and rights of these cultures. Similarly, the efforts of the missionaries that allowed native languages to be recorded and preserved also set in motion the process of putting those languages in their 'proper' place – beneath the English language. This ranking of language and culture may often have been inadvertent on the part of the missionaries, but was in reality unavoidable because it arose from the collective, inherent belief of the Europeans in the superiority of their own culture and their view of the native cultures as pre-civilised. For example,

> In Shrewsbury's[8] view, Christianity was synonymous with British culture, and therefore conversion necessitated an acceptance of both Christianity and the culture of its propagators. From this perspective, the beliefs of Africans were simply an agglomeration of superstitions, a view which the dearth of information on South African peoples did nothing to dispel.
>
> (H.H. Fast, 1994)

In a selection of Shrewsbury's letters and journals, Fast (1994) goes on to say that

> Although Shrewsbury's descriptions of Xhosa culture were very detailed, he made little attempt to understand the underlying beliefs which generated these traditions. As a result, he did not realise that his message was usually incomprehensible to his listeners, not only through language differences which were monumental – but because of the difference in worldview.

It was only once the missionaries began to learn the native languages and to translate the Scriptures into them, that Christianity began to gain a significant foothold in native African culture.

Following is a brief description of a Khoikhoi interpreter. Whilst this particular interpreter seems to have been somewhat disturbed, and therefore is probably not representative of southern African interpreters of the time, his experiences as an interpreter and Christian convert were probably shared in varying degrees by his peers.

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[8] Missionary to the eastern Xhosa people, William J. Shrewsbury.

ANDRIES STOFFELS [9]

Stoffels was born a Gonaqua Khoikhoi in the 1770s. As a young man he fought in the unsuccessful Khoikhoi uprising against the Dutch following the British invasion, during which the Khoikhoi tried to ally themselves with the British to regain their land. He was injured whilst fighting and was later captured by the Xhosa and taken to Xhosaland where he learnt the language and came to serve as an interpreter. Elbourne (1995: 87) remarks that

> … these experiences marked Stoffels: 'like Moses', … [and] he 'felt severely the degraded state of his countrymen as having lost their country, their property, and their liberty.'

As a Xhosa interpreter he had his first contact with mission Christianity whilst visiting Bethelsdorp with a Xhosa chief. The missionary, James Read Snr., later notorious for his involvement in the 'Black Circuit' trials of 1812, seemed to have been perspicacious regarding the experiences of Stoffels and men like him, identifying that "Stoffels experienced missionary preaching as an effort to instil guilt, and responded because of his own existing guilt and anxiety." (Elbourne, 1995: 87) It seems clear that Stoffels was more than marked by his youthful experiences: His various cultural dislocations – born a Khoikhoi, colonised by the Dutch, re-colonised by the English, taken prisoner by the Xhosa, and ultimately condemned as a sinner by the missionaries – seem to have caused permanent emotional instability.

Elbourne (1995: 87) narrates that when a missionary began to scold the people, Stoffels feared that he/they had committed very bad acts and had therefore been called to the meeting to receive a public reprimanding, and that the book held by the missionary contained a list of his/their crimes. The idea that God could always know and expose the actions and thoughts of men deeply disturbed Stoffels, who, finding no rest in his old life, would attempt to find peace in solitude. From time to time he would go among the farmers,

[9] Readers may notice that in some parts of this discussion, especially when referring to specific missionary-translators, I have made use of only one source. This is largely because for some missionaries only one biography is available (or sometimes an 'autobiography' in diary form); however, in some cases I had only sufficient time to consult one source.

> where there was dancing and merriment; but was pursued by his conscience; he returned to Bethelsdorp; but his convictions were deepened by the word of God, and often had he to rise from his seat and run out of the chapel to the bushes and thickets, weeping aloud, and spending hours and even days from men, praying to God for mercy.
>
> (Elbourne, 1995: 87)

Ultimately, Stoffels became a Christian and later an "enthusiastic advocate of Western education for the Khoisan, and of national salvation through Christianization." (Elbourne, 1995) His actions led to a visit to London, and testimony in front of the 'Aborigines' Committee' that the 'Hottentots' were being worn down by the English through economic and racial discrimination:

> 'It is not now murder; they do not murder, but it is like a newspaper that you put in the press and wear down. The 'Hottentot' has no water; he has not a blade of grass; he has no lands; he has no wood; he has no place where he can sleep; all that he now has is the missionary and the Bible.'
>
> (Elbourne, 1995)

Stoffels' speeches reflect clearly the ambivalence of his response to the domination of the white man, and to the grip of a foreign religion, as on another occasion he extols the powers of Christianity in the 'redemption' of the Khoikhoi people:

> 'My nation is poor and degraded, but the word of God is their stay and their hope. The word of God has brought my nation so far, that if a Hottentot young lady and an English young lady were walking with their faces from me, I would take them both to be English ladies… We are coming on; we are improving; we will soon all be one. The Bible makes all nations one. The Bible brings wild man and civilized together. The Bible is our light. The Hottentot nation was almost exterminated, but the Bible has brought the nations together, and here I am before you.'
>
> (Elbourne, 1995)

With regard to the effect of Christianisation, Elbourne (1995: 87) explains this kind of situation very well:

> The terrible ambiguity of even the most well-meaning mission station underlies these words: Stoffels inadvertently underscores the problem of any culture relying on another for all its positive images and self-respect.

Elbourne (1995: 87), however, also points out that conversion to Christianity served a reintegrative function for Stoffels, insofar as he gained prestige and some wealth at the Bethelsdorp and Kat River missions – assets that he certainly had not possessed as a farm worker or a Xhosa dependant. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, Stoffels' new position allowed him "… to work for the 'rejuvenation' of his people and to remain politically active. Whatever the effectiveness of his activity, it provided hope and a sense of purpose."

Although Elbourne's study of Andries Stoffels primarily served to illustrate her examination of how Khoikhoi people reacted to and utilised for their own purposes the mission stations, the same study also reveals how the acquisition of the languages of the dominating culture profoundly influenced the individuals serving as interpreters from the subjugated culture, as they shuttled back and forth between the two.

Wilson, in a 1972 speech called *The Interpreters*, has highlighted the pitfalls of being an interpreter, in this case between polarised cultures in times of insecurity and hostility:

> … interpreters, just because they are *men between*, are commonly distrusted. Where the groups between whom they interpret are in conflict they are likely to be distrusted by both sides because they are negotiators between opponents. The early Xhosa converts found themselves in this position during the frontier wars. Tiyo Soga's chief Maqoma demanded that he read and translate written messages which the Xhosa had intercepted. Soga refused, asserting his loyalty to his chief, but refusing to participate in the war. His father was one of Ngqika's councillors and Tiyo's position must have been very precarious. In fact he and his mother took refuge with the missionaries in the war of 1846 and Tiyo had to take refuge again in 1850. The Xhosa converts generally were distrusted both by their fellow Xhosa and by the whites for every one of them, during war, was pulled in two directions.

She goes on to discuss the position of interpreters in the Xhosa community in modern times:

> But in fact the men and women who have been and still are the regular interpreters between black and white were and are the early converts and their descendants, above all the village school masters and school mistresses, and the Church elders. It is they who have translated, mediated, between cultures and established a measure of mutual understanding. It is they who still maintain links between local affairs and the outside world at village level.
>
> (Wilson, 1972: 20–21)

This kind of situation would have been particularly true during the Apartheid era, which is when Wilson gave her speech. But even today there is polarity – economic, technological and cultural – between the rural Xhosa and the city people who often make decisions that affect the lives of the former.

* * *

After Van Der Kemp, the next missionary to take up his duties amongst the eastern Xhosa was the Reverend Joseph Williams, who arrived and settled at the Kat River with his wife and infant son in July 1816. He was the first missionary to bring his family to live among the people in Ngqika's territory, and sadly he earned the scorn of many Boers and British for doing so. Apparently the Williams couple could not even persuade the colonists to sell them the small amount of provisions they wanted to take with them. (Shepherd, 1940: 16)

Williams had as an interpreter the son of a chief, Dyani (or 'Jan') Tshatshu, who was probably of mixed Xhosa-Gona descent, and who had been to school and learnt to speak Dutch at Bethelsdorp (Tshatshu is discussed in more detail below). The Williams' were successful in their work, for after one year Mrs Williams could report that 138 Xhosa and Khoikhoi men, women and children were staying on the mission station, and that on Sundays 100 people were generally found to be listening to the Gospel, and on weekdays 90. There was also a school for adults and children that had 50–60 pupils.

The colonial government very early realised the potential utility of missionaries in the Frontier areas, and hence Williams was soon co-opted. In this regard, Wilson (1972: 8–9) tells us that

> Missionaries were used both by the Cape Government and by the chiefs as go-betweens, translators, and negotiators. Williams, the missionary living on the Kat River, was deeply embarrassed by the demands the Governor made on him, but he could not escape arranging the meetings of the Governor with the chief Ngqika, and when he died the chief pressed his widow to remain[10]. … Very soon missionaries were co-operating with administrators in the recording and interpretation of Xhosa law and custom as well as the translation of language.

JOHN BENNIE and other Scottish missionaries

Williams' successor, the Reverend John Brownlee, settled at Tyume in 1820, in the same spot that Williams had selected. He was joined in 1821 by William Thomson and the catechist, John Bennie. The latter two had set out from Scotland as the first two missionaries sent to South Africa by the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS). According to Oosthuizen (1971: 193), Bennie had planned to provide literature for the Bantu from the start, and his mind was set on translating the Scriptures into the Bantu languages. Apparently the Bible Society gave him several bibles/testaments in various languages – Hebrew, Dutch, Syriac and Arabic – as well as 25 Dutch and 25 English bibles for distribution. Bennie and Thomson arrived in Cape Town on 28 July 1821, and continued their journey to Gwali in the Tyume Valley in November of the same year. (Shepherd, 1940: 32)

In the meantime, Brownlee, who was strongly in favour of missionaries learning Xhosa, continued Williams' role as negotiator, intermediary and interpreter between the Xhosa chief, Ngqika, and the colonial government.[11] Apparently, "Each chief wanted his own missionary to present his case and negotiate with whites on his behalf." (Wilson, 1972: 10)

These English/Scottish missionaries found that they had to learn Dutch in addition to Xhosa, since a number of the frontier Xhosa and Khoikhoi had been in contact with Dutch settlers, and were consequently already familiar with this language. Communicating in Dutch with an interpreter allowed faster contact between the missionaries and the Xhosa, but only initially.

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[10] The Williams' stay was not long, as in 1818 the Reverend died, and his wife returned to the Colony.

[11] Brownlee and Thomson, being 'Government Missionaries', were paid by the colonial government. Bennie, on the other hand, was paid by the Glasgow Missionary Society.

> Within a few months Bennie had mastered Dutch and was able to converse and teach in it. Within a year he also reported that he had started on a Xhosa Vocabulary. By then the children were also reciting, in Xhosa, the Lord's Prayer, a morning prayer, 30 short questions, a part of the Creed, a doxology, and part of the 23rd Psalm, "the whole of which we have translated"[12].
>
> (Shepherd, 1940: 56-57)

In a letter to the GMS in 1822, Bennie provides examples of the Xhosa language and comments that

> It is a fine, soft, agreeable language, and uncommonly musical, and the chief defect in the attainment of it, besides the various clacks [clicks], is the ignorance of the Caffres concerning hundreds of objects, and by consequence of their names, with which the civilized world is familiar.[13]
>
> (Shepherd, 1940: 56–57)

By 1823 Bennie was printing, on a newly arrived printing press, the first spelling book in Xhosa,[14] which would be used in the newly founded children's school, supervised by Bennie. While Bennie taught the children, Brownlee would often gather the men, and Thomson the women, for instruction in reading. And whenever possible, at noon on weekdays, the missionaries met with their interpreter for language instruction. In the evening this was done without fail. (Shepherd, 1940: 58) The interpreter at Tyume was a woman who had been converted and baptised by Dr. Van Der Kemp more than 30 years before, and who died in 1831.

In addition to the above-mentioned spelling book, a part of Haddington's small catechism, some hymns, and a few other small pieces were translated and printed. However, as Shepherd (1940: 65) explains, the rendering of the Scriptures into Xhosa was the missionaries' paramount task. In this, they were aware of the importance of producing accurate translations and of the difficulty of doing so when the target

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[12] *G.M.S. Report*, 1822, p.29
[13] *G.M.S. Report*, 1822, p. 30-1
[14] The press was brought to the Colony by the Rev. John Ross and his wife, Helen Blair, who arrived in South Africa in September 1823. In addition to the small Ruthven printing press, there was a supply of type, paper and ink. These they brought to Tyumie by wagon, travelling through the Karoo – a journey of about 1,000 miles (including detours). They reached Tyumie in December 1823 and according to Bennie, on the 17th got their press in order, on the 18th set up the alphabet and on the 19th 'threw off' 50 copies. (Shepherd, 1940: 62) The spelling book was properly published in 1829.

language lacked many of the Scriptural terms and concepts. Consequently, the missionaries arranged to examine each other's work separately and successively.

Another reflection of these missionaries' dedication to accurate, earnest and effective evangelisation was their first baptism (in June 1823) of a native African, which was done in Xhosa. Bennie reports that

> [Brownlee] was induced to prepare a translation of the Confession of Faith etc. and to address it to them, without the aid of the Interpreter, from a fear lest he should misinterpret some important part; which in going on with the translation, I found would certainly have been the case. … You will observe that we have introduced the original word Βάπτώ giving it the Kaffer form of *Bapta*, the most simple state of the verb – the radix, which it retains throughout all its inflexions. The native word '*Pehlelela*', which has hitherto been used, would lead to erroneous views of the nature of Baptism, as it is originally applied to the initiatory ceremonies of the Witch doctors.
>
> (quoted in Shepherd, 1940: 60)

Because translating was considered one of the main intellectual duties of the missionary (together with such things as study for personal improvement, preaching, teaching and manual duties such as building, gardening, and field work), missionary-translators could feel justified in their translation work. Indeed, those who were talented in this area were released from their other duties, allowing them more time for translating. (Shepherd, 1940: 66)

Bennie contributed much to the recording of the Xhosa language, and in the early 1830s spent a large amount of time on the translation and production of Xhosa literature. One of his earliest works and one into which he put about two years' effort is *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in two Parts; To Which is Prefixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar*[15]. (Shepherd, 1940: 104).

His work proved to be very useful, as in 1830 missionaries of the Methodist, London and Glasgow Societies met at Buffalo 'for the purpose of fixing rules for writing the language [i.e., Xhosa],' and they apparently used Bennie's grammatical system as the basis. (*G.M.S. Report*, quoted in Shepherd, 1940: 120). In 1831 the same missionaries

[15] 1826, Glasgow Mission Press, Lovedale

started co-operating in translation work and making concerted plans for the publication of the New Testament. Bennie ultimately undertook and completed the translation of several books of the Bible. (Shepherd, 1940: 121)

Unfortunately, in spite of his prolific translation and Xhosa language work, Bennie did not identify one of the essential keys in Xhosa grammar; namely, the Euphonic Concord, which was discovered and published by the missionary W.B. Boyce. Nonetheless, Bennie anticipated much of the work contained in later grammars and also noted some things that are not found in them. (Shepherd, 1940: 120) Bennie made an important overall contribution to early Xhosa education and the literary progress of the language, and it is generally accepted that "Along with W.R. Thomson he had the principal share in reducing the Xhosa language to written form." (Shepherd, 1940: 120) These achievements were doubtless in part due to the love he had for his work; so much so that during his first year in South Africa he could write to the Society Directors in Scotland:

> There is not another country in the globe where I could wish to spend my days. Even in my native land, I think I could not enjoy the happiness which I derive from the study of a language yet unwritten.
>
> (*G.M.S. Report*, 1822, p.27, quoted in Shepherd, 1940: 120)

The title of 'Father of Kafir Literature' was bestowed upon Bennie in 1887 by the Hon. Charles Brownlee.

ROBERT MOFFAT

Whilst the Glaswegian missionaries worked on or near the colony frontier, another pioneer missionary, Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society (LMS), had in 1825 gone to Kuruman, Namaqualand to work amongst the Batswana people. Prior to that, since about 1817, Robert Moffat had been held up in Cape Town because of Governor Somerset's dislike of missionary activists and his refusal to allow them to preach to the Africans[16].

[16] This dislike had been caused largely by the actions of another London Society missionary, James Read, of Bethelsdorp, who had accused Boer farmers in Graaf-Reinet and Uitenhage of ill-treating their Khoikhoi servants. The matter was to be addressed in the Circuit Court of 1812, thereafter called 'the

Moffat used his sojourn in Cape Town to learn Dutch, which he employed for preaching and for prayer (to the colonists), until he mastered the Tswana language in 1827. Moffat was ultimately to become well-known in England for his missionary efforts[17], his scriptural translations and for his friendship with the feared Matabele/Ndebele chief, Mzilikazi[18].

After establishing himself in Kuruman in 1826, Moffat relied entirely on interpreters for communicating in Tswana, and also still depended heavily on Dutch.

Through his journals, Moffat provided highly interesting glimpses into the efforts that eventually yielded his Tswana translations. The process was a difficult and tedious one, made no easier by the fact that the time for interpretations and translations was usually at the end of a long day of manual labour:

> The acquisition of the language was an object of the first importance. This was to be done under circumstances the most unfavourable, as there was neither time nor place of retirement for study, and no interpreter worthy the name. A few, and but a few words were collected, and these very incorrect, from the ignorance of the interpreter of the grammatical structure either of his own or the Dutch language, through which medium all our intercourse was carried on. It was something like groping in the dark, and many were the ludicrous blunders I made. The more waggish of those from whom I occasionally obtained sentences and forms of speech, would richly enjoy the fun, if they succeeded in leading me into egregious mistakes and shameful blunders; but though I had to pay dear for my credulity, I learned something.
>
> (Moffat, 1969: 291)

Black Circuit'. About a thousand witnesses – both farmers and Khoi – were summoned to testify. Although 12 of the 36 charges for murder and violence were proven, the general indictment of the government and of the local Landdrosts was not upheld. Thereafter the names of the LMS and its missionaries were disdained by the colonists and their government. (C. Northcott, 1961: 28)

[17] Northcott (1961: 11) comments that "His religious driving force, his sense of the white man's mission and his regard for Africans were the basic elements in his strategy. Over-pious, sometimes rather stuffy and unctuous and a bit vain, Robert Moffat nevertheless had the meed of magic in his personality which won not only the affectionate devotion of Mzilikazi, but the veneration of Victorian Britain, to whom he became the symbol of wonder and service in the 'dark continent'."

[18] Moffat's first visits to Mzilikazi were in 1829–30. The two men appeared to have formed a strong connection fairly soon, and Mzilikazi came to honour Moffat with name of his own father, Mashobane, and to call him 'King of Kuruman'. However, despite their great friendship, Mzilikazi never converted to Christianity and insisted that missionaries respect Ndebele customs. In 1835 Mzilikazi travelled with Moffat in his wagon to help him find wood for a new church at Kuruman. During this time Moffat also got permission from Mzilikazi for missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to found a mission station at Mosega. When the church was completed in 1838, it was largest building in southern Africa outside of Cape Town. (Northcott, 1961)

Even if a suitable interpreter – that is, a Tswana speaker who spoke Dutch adequately – was available, it appears that Moffat was frustrated by his or her ability to maintain focus on the subject matter:

> …and when every thing was ready for inquiry, the native mind, unaccustomed to analyze abstract terms, would, after a few questions, be completely bewildered.
>
> (Moffat, 1969: 291)

The attainment of Tswana proved to be exceptionally arduous for Moffat, but learn it he had to, for he soon recognised that preaching in Dutch or using an interpreter were unsatisfactory methods for effectively spreading the Scriptures:

> The reducing of an oral language to writing being so important to the missionary, he ought to have every encouragement afforded him, and be supplied with the means necessary for the attainment of such an object. … A missionary who commences giving direct instructions to the natives though far from being competent in the language, is proceeding on safer ground than if he were employing an interpreter, who is not proficient in both languages, and who has not a tolerable understanding of the doctrines of the Gospel. Trusting to an ignorant and unqualified interpreter, is attended with consequences not only ludicrous, but dangerous to the very objects which lie nearest the missionary's heart.
>
> (Moffat, 1969: 291)

Accordingly, in 1827, Moffat left his wife, Mary, and their eight-week old baby in Kuruman for a period of eight weeks while he set off in his wagon to the Barolong country, accompanied only by a driver, a little boy to lead the oxen and two Barolong men.

Northcott (1961: 117) tells us that Moffat

> … halted his wagon on the open veld at Tswaing (the modern Morokweng), some ninety miles north-west of Vryburg, and there started his eight weeks of listening, talking and writing; while the flies pestered him, drank the very ink from his pen, and the 'genteel beggars' swarmed around, demanding tobacco and beads.

Moffat had no training in acquiring languages, neither were there any aids such as grammars and dictionaries that he could use. He also did not attempt to create such

language guides, but instead learnt the language by immersion – ultimately succeeding by force of determination.

After this, Moffat was ready to start translating, His goal was to produce a Tswana bible, but little did he realise that this task was to belabour him for several decades. Besides having had no training in language work whatsoever, he had no knowledge of Hebrew or Greek. Northcott (1961: 121) relates how, in a letter to the directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in London, Moffat wonders whether the Society realised how few people spoke "Sechuana" and how long it would take to do the translation; and went on to compare himself to a missionary called Eliot who spent 30 years translating the Scriptures for the North American Indians in a dialect now extinct and useless.

In light of this remark, it is not surprising to read that Moffat apparently struggled with feelings of despondency and possibly inadequacy about how to go about his intended translation tasks, wondering whether "to do anything more than acquire the language and do the primary organising work of a linguist and philologist." (Northcott, 1961: 121) Ultimately it would take Moffat 29 years to carry out his self-imposed task of translating the bible into Tswana. He finished translating it in 1854 and published it in 1857.

Moffat discovered that the dramatic tales of human drama in the Gospels appealed strongly to the people in the villages. His first translation of these was the Gospel of St. Luke, and he tested his translation by reading out the chapters at various instances of public worship:

> I have frequently listened with surprise to hear how minutely some, who were unable to read, could repeat the story of the Woman who was a sinner; the parable of the Great Supper, the Prodigal Son, and the Rich Man and Lazarus; and date their change of views to these simple but all important truths, delivered by the great Master Teacher.
>
> (Northcott, 1961: 122)

Whilst Moffat found that the themes of the Gospel stories and later the minor Epistles and the Acts could quite easily be translated into the Tswana language/culture, he had

to search for Tswana terms that would approximate the theological concepts and terminology. He did so by "employing circumlocutions and by introducing a few foreign words which were locally familiar." (Northcott, 1961: 122) However, his translation stratagems were not always successful. Apparently he

> … introduced the term *epistle* in the form of *episetole* – which native preachers began to confuse with *pistols*. One of them, preaching on St. Paul's conversion, described how the party was about to leave Jerusalem when Paul ordered a halt while he ran back to get the *epistles*, 'for we can't go without them'. The preacher commented: 'You know what these *epistles* are – they are those little guns the white people carry in their pockets.'… Moffat also failed to find a vernacular word for 'lilies' in the text 'Consider the lilies', and put in a manufactured one – *lilelea*. That made the word almost identical with the Sechuana world *dilelea* – tarantulas, the long, hairy-legged spiders with a poisonous bite. So, for a time, the Bechuana were exhorted to 'Consider the *tarantulas*, which toil not, neither do they spin'!
>
> (Northcott, 1961: 122)

In another letter to the BFBS Moffat wrote in July 1838:

> I have used two different terms, to distinguish between Hades and Gehenna. I have also endeavoured to distinguish the two verbs, *metanoein* (to change one's mind, to repent) and *metamelesthai*; for Christos, I have used *Messiah*. It was once recommended to me to adopt the original word *baptizo*; but finding a word in the language exhibiting nearly all the meanings of the original, I preferred it. As it means not only to sprinkle, but also to saturate, to make wet, either by pouring or immersion, I feel sure that a Baptist brother would have adopted the same … The deep sense of the awful responsibility which I have taken upon me, increased in the course of the work; and I have often wished I could push it on to the shoulders of some one else more competent … were it even never to be printed, I should feel that I had received a rich, yea, an abundant reward for all my labour.
>
> (Northcott, 1961: 122)

Moffat's translation ability must have been considerable, for the above remark shows not only his rapid absorption and comprehension of terms from ancient Greek (hitherto unknown to him), but also his sensitivity to the desirability of retaining familiar terms in the original language and re-moulding them to fit new concepts[19].

[19] According to Northcott (1969: xv) "Moffat's mastery of Sechuana and his self-taught working knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and Greek, place him among the great Bible translators."

It took Moffat up to the end of 1829 to complete the translation of St. Luke – the first complete Gospel in Tswana. But it still had to be printed. Moffat had already planned to journey to the Colony with his wife and two elder daughters, aged nine and seven, in order to enrol them at school in Salem, Grahamstown, and so he hastened his translation in order to be able to take the complete manuscript with him to Cape Town, via Algoa Bay.

Once in Cape Town in 1830, Moffat realised that in order to speed up the printing process at the government printing office he would have to learn compositor's and printing work himself, as typography in Cape Town was in an 'infant state', according to Moffat. However, another inducement for Moffat to learn printer's skills was the fact that the mission had been promised its own printing press.

In addition to the Gospel of St. Luke, a small hymn book was also printed. No sooner was the printing done, than Moffat was afflicted with "a severe attack of bilious fever occasioned by over exertion in the hottest season of the year" (Moffat, 1842: 562). Thus, he had to be transported back to Algoa Bay on board a ship, but the fourteen days' "rough passage" apparently did much to improve his health.

Moffat returned to the mission station triumphant and elated:

> Never since missionaries entered the country was such a treasure conveyed to the mission as on the present occasion, for we brought with us an edition of the gospel of Luke, and a hymn book in the native language, a printing press, type, paper, and ink, besides having obtained very liberal subscriptions from the friends in Cape Town, and other parts of the Colony, towards the erection of a place of worship.
>
> (Moffat, 1842: 563)

Soon after bringing the press to Kuruman, lessons, spelling books and catechisms were prepared for the schools. The press was not only a 'treasure' to the missionaries, but a wonder to the local people:

> Although many of the natives had been informed how books were printed nothing could exceed their surprise when they saw a white sheet, after disappearing for a moment, emerge spangled with letters. After a few noisy exclamations, one obtained a sheet with which he bounded into the village,

> showing it to every one he met, and asserting that Mr. Edwards and I had made it in a moment, with a round black hammer (a printer's ball) and a shake of the arm. The description of such a juggling process, soon brought a crowd to see the *segatisho* (press), which has since proved an auxiliary of vast importance to our cause.
>
> (Moffat, 1842: 564)

With increasing confidence and enthusiasm Moffat continued to produce new translations. He translated the Scripture Lessons, which he regarded "an inimitable production for schools and [useful] for building up converts among the heathen in the absence of the entire Scriptures"[20] and took pleasure from seeing "the children around the printing-office door, waiting for a new sheet, and inquiring when additions were to be made to their little treasures of knowledge." (Moffat, 1842: 570)

In addition to making a translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Moffat and his colleague, William Edwards, also translated edifying, pious texts from Britain, with titles such as *Poor Joseph*, *The Sinner's Help, Do you want a Friend?,* and *Peace in Death*. (Northcott, 1961: 128)

In 1839–43, Moffat took a sabbatical in England, because he could not get his most recent translations published in the Cape. Whilst he was in London, the New Testament, the Psalms, and various Scripture readings were printed. During this visit he also met and recruited David Livingstone, who later married Moffat's daughter, Mary, in 1844.

A conscientious British missionary to the end, Moffat writes in the last part of his published journals:

> the preceding chapters show what has been accomplished among the tribes in the southern portions of this vast continent. What now remains to be done, but to go up and take possession of the land? The means have been described, and our prospects are inviting; avenues have been opened up; translations of the word of God have been made into different languages*; a native agency is in operation…

[20] Apparently Moffat would start work on the corrections for *Selections from the Scriptures* by five in the morning. The book ultimately had 443 pages.

> * Since the author arrived in England, he has been enabled, by the munificence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to carry through the press a translation of the New Testament and the Psalms in the Sechuana language, some thousands of which have been sent out to the interior of Southern Africa, to supply the increasing wants of a people rapidly acquiring the art of reading; thousands of them being able already to read in their own language the wonderful works of God. A large edition of the Scripture Lessons has also been printed, the whole expense of which has been defrayed by a number of the Society of Friends. Numerous elementary works and tracts have emanated from printing presses in the Bechuana country.
>
> (1842: 617)

Having devoted more than 50 years to his cause, and generally regarded as a success, Moffat eventually returned to England in 1870.

JOHN WHITTLE APPLEYARD

The GMS missionaries were not the only ones directing their efforts at the Xhosa. The Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) had also sent representatives to South Africa, and these had settled at a variety of places, including Plaatberg, Thaba Nchu,[21] Wesleyville, Annshaw, and others.

K. Schoeman (1991: 7) tells us that the Wesleyans

> …were largely men from humble backgrounds, often with little schooling, as may be seen from their surviving manuscripts, and with none of the intellectual curiosity which characterised their French brethren in the same circumstances. What they experienced was of interest to them solely from the point of view of evangelisation, judged rigorously by the standards of Northern Europe and Christianity, and almost inevitably found wanting.

One of the most well-known Wesleyans in South Africa was the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard, who achieved renown (and endured a considerable amount of chagrin) for his translation and revision of the Xhosa Bible. Although he was assisted in the translation by various colleagues, and in the revision and printing by his colleague Henry H. Dugmore, the majority of the translations and revisions were his, as well as the responsibility for the printing, and hence this version of the Bible became known as ‘Appleyard's Bible’.

[21] More about these mission stations below (page 51).

Appleyard had trained as a printer in early life, and later on received a good grounding in Latin, Greek and Hebrew at the Wesleyan Training Institute in England. Because of the pleasure he took in languages, he continued to study Syriac and Chaldean privately. However, after he had come to South Africa, Appleyard neglected his language studies until 1842, when he came to realise the scope of his language vocation in the field of Bible translation:

> June 1842 – I have been very busy since the District [*sic*] in compiling a kaffer grammer [sic] according to my own views. I finished it last week, and intend to revise and improve it, if spared, next year when I hope to have a little more experience. I shall now commence a dictionary Kaffer and English. These studies are by no means disagreeable to me, but appear just what suits my cast of mind. May the Lord assist me both to learn and speak the languages correctly, that I may be made the more effectually a blessing to those amongst whom it is my appointed lot to dwell!
>
> (Appleyard in Frye, 1971: 14)

Appleyard worked under the directorship of the Rev. William Shaw, and together with other missionary translators like W.B. Boyce, who produced a "Kaffir Grammar" in 1834 (and, as we saw above, was the discoverer of the 'Euphonic Concord', a key element in understanding the structure of the Xhosa language), and W.J. Daniels, who translated English text books into Xhosa.

Appleyard must have learnt the basics of the Xhosa language quite quickly, as he could write in his journal in 1843 that as a result of the absence of his interpreter, he met with his class alone and prayed with them in Xhosa for the first time. Having done this once, Appleyard decided to go on without the help of an interpreter, and thereafter required his assistance for preaching only.

In 1850 Appleyard completed a combined history and grammar of the Xhosa language, which was titled *The Kafir Language: comprising a Sketch of its History; which includes a General Classification of South African Dialects, Ethnographical and Geographical: Remarks upon its Nature: and A Grammar*[22]. The publication was well-received, and regarded as "highly creditable to the learning and research of the

[22] 1850, Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town

author, and which must become the standard grammar of the language." (*The Minutes of the District Meeting of December 1849*, cited in Shaw, 1865: 551–2) Fellow Wesleyans recorded that they could

> …confidently recommend Mr. Appleyard's Grammar as, in the main, a correct and philosophical exhibition of the principles and rules which govern this ancient and interesting African language, so extensively spoken upon the Continent. … the work itself is calculated to serve the Mission, not only as forming a valuable help to Missionaries studying the language, but also as suggesting useful hints to those on whom the duty and honour devolves of completing translations of the Holy Scriptures into the Kaffir tongue.
>
> The Minutes of the District Meeting of December 1849
>
> (cited in Shaw, W., *The Story of My Mission*, London, 1865, p.551–2)

The fact that missionaries saw the translation of the Holy Scriptures as "a duty and an honour" is quite likely one of the main reasons why anybody continued to do them. We know already from Moffat's remarks, above, that doing scriptural translations, whether with the help of an interpreter or without, was difficult work. Appleyard corroborates Moffat's experiences, adding that the constant Frontier Wars further complicated matters:

> It is with deep regret that we have to announce so slow a progress in the printing of the Old Testament Scriptures. But the interruptions to the regular work of the office have been so frequent, and the position of the brethren engaged in the work of translation has been usually so trying in its character and depressing in its influence, that it has proved impossible to proceed as rapidly as could be wished. The period now referred to, also, is not the only one in which the same difficulties and obstacles have had to be encountered. Similarly painful periods are still remembered. Out of the last seven years alone, four have passed away amidst the anxieties and turbulencies of war; during which the time and energies of the brethren have been required, rather for the conservation of our work in general, than for the advancement of any part in particular. Under these circumstances, … little comparatively has been accomplished in this special department [translation].[23]

[23] This quote forms part of Appleyard's response (see note (a) below) to the widespread criticisms of the Xhosa bible published in 1865. The quoted text originally formed part of a report passed at a District Meeting held in Grahamstown in November, 1852, and was addressed to the General Committee in London.

(a) Published in 1867 in a pamphlet entitled "An Apology for the Kafir Bible: Being a Reply to the Pamphlet entitled, "Rev. J.W. Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations and Others."

Appleyard had begun his translation of the Old Testament and other Scriptures in about 1848, and over a period of 12 years had became increasingly occupied with this work and with the printing of the whole Bible, the production of which was completed in 1859. It was printed at Mount Coke, but published only in 1865. During those twelve years, portions of the Bible were published as separate booklets. Also during that time, in August 1850, the Wesleyans commenced a monthly newspaper, *The Christian Watchman*, which was printed in Xhosa and in English. Appleyard, who was in charge of the press, was assisted by Dugmore, and oversaw the printing of 700 newspapers every month, in addition to the printing of other Scriptural texts[24].

Fortunately for us, Appleyard regarded the completion of his Old Testament a sufficiently momentous occasion to make an entry in his journal[25], and hence we can glean some idea about his feelings in this regard. We see that Appleyard's sense of achievement was burdened by his decision to revise and possibly re-translate the entire New Testament, which had been completed in 1838 by various missionaries of various denominations and published in 1846.

> September 1st, 1859: Last evening I corrected the last proof of the Kafir Bible … To-day the printing [of] this edition has been finished, so that now we have the entire Scriptures in the Kafir language. … We commenced printing this

[24] For example (and for the benefit of other researchers), in 1849, Appleyard reported that the following items, amongst others, had been printed and bound:

"I. Printing Office

3 ½ sheets first Lesson Book	3,000 copies 12 mo.
7 ½ sheets Kaffir Hymn Book	1,000 copies 12 mo.
3 ½ sheets Portions of New Testament	500 copes 8 vo.
6 ½ sheets Psalms, New Translation	3,000 copies 8 vo.
1 ½ sheets Kaffir and English Dictionary	500 copies 8 vo.
42 ½ sheets Kaffir Language	400 copies 8 vo.
1 ½ sheets Kaffir Hymn Book, Scotch Edition	1,000 copies 12 mo.

also

4 pp. to complete Kaffir Hymn Book

II. Binding Department

350 copies Kaffir Hymn Book, Stiff covers cloth bk.
66 copies Hymns, Prayers &tc whole bound
33 copies ditto extra 78 half bound
3 copies Portions of Scripture 8 vo. half bound
1 copy Kaffir Language 8 vo. cloth extra." (Frye, 1971, Note 13, p. 134)

[25] Although it was expected of the missionaries to keep regular journal entries and to send these back to the WMS four times per year, most of the missionaries were not very diligent about this aspect of their duties. Hence we have an entry from Appleyard that reads as follows:

> June 25th 1859: Another and much larger break in my Journal. Nearly six years have elapsed since my last entry – years of peace and quiet through the blessing of God. My work has not been much diversified during all this period. Most of my time has been spent in translating the Old Testament into the Kafir language.

> edition in December 1854, so that we have had this work in hand a little more than four years and half. During this period the whole has been translated or former printed portions revised. The translators have been Mr. Dugmore for the Book of Psalms, Mr. Garner for that of Ruth, and Rev. A. Kropf of the Berlin Mission for Judges and the two Books of Samuel. All the other books have been translated by myself, and those which were printed before have been revised, as well as the translations supplied by Messrs. Garner and Kropf. With God's blessing and help I now intend to give another revision to the New Testament, which will probably amount to a re-translation of the whole.
>
> (Appleyard in Frye, 1971)

The reasons that Appleyard gives for revising – in fact *rewriting* – the New Testament will be (horribly) familiar to any translator who, with the assistance of colleagues, has undertaken to translate a lengthy work over an extended period of time. Realising not only that the various translated gospels were not uniform in style, but also being concerned that the Xhosa translations should reflect the different uses of Greek in certain parables and discourses, Appleyard started the whole thing again, "as being altogether more convenient both to the printer and myself." (Frye, 1971, Editor's note no. 93)

Despite Appleyard's painstaking efforts in translating the Bible, the end product was not well-received by his peers. In fact, most of his colleagues rejected 'Appleyard's Bible', even although it was to remain close to the hearts of many converts, even when a revised Bible was issued in 1887–9. It's impossible not to feel sympathy for Appleyard, who was clearly very hurt by the response of his fellows. His closing remark in his *Apology for the Kafir Bible* – "Here we gladly conclude our task. We took it up with no pleasure, and we seldom found any in the course of its performance" – is more than irritable and wearied, it has the deeper tone of injury and of being misunderstood. A part of the injury, even the injustice, was that Appleyard felt that other denominations had not done their share in the production of the Bible:

> … the Wesleyan Mission, whether we regard time, labour, or expense, has borne the burden and heat of the day in the work of translating and printing the Kafir Scriptures, and that for nearly twenty years previously to the completion of the Old Testament in 1859, the work seems to have been left almost entirely in its hand. But this was from no choice of its own. As early as 1845, interleaved copies of the Gospels were sent out to different parties for critical suggestions, and a Revising Committee formed in union with some other Societies. The practical results of this arrangement, however, do not appear to

> have amounted to much, and came altogether to an end on the breaking out of war in the following year, just as the first complete edition of the Kafir New Testament had issued from the Wesleyan Mission Press…
>
> (Appleyard, 1867)

As a consequence of the general dissatisfaction with Appleyard's Bible, a committee of translators was appointed in 1869 to redo the translation. Johann Heinrich Albert Kropf of the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) was appointed chairman of this committee (he had also collaborated with Appleyard in the previous translation of the Bible). He, together with fellow missionary John Ross, contributed significantly to the new translation, with Kropf referring to Greek and Hebrew texts for his translation, and supervising the printing. (W.J. De Kock, 1968–87)

* * *

Other Wesleyans, as well as members of the Paris Missionary Society (PMS) who started their work among the Basotho in 1833, settled in July 1826 at Plaatberg (Platberg), in the area that is now known as the Free State. They had been preceded only by missionaries of the LMS, who had settled at Philipolis in 1825. These Wesleyans were amongst the earliest Europeans to leave written records of their time there. They lived and worked not only among the Basotho, but also the Batlokwa, Mfengu and Korana people.

Plaatberg became the Wesleyan Bechuana Mission Station, and there a school and a printing press were soon established. The press was shared between the stations at Plaatberg and Thaba Nchu[26], and it would be taken back and forth between the two stations by one of the missionaries.

By the end of 1830, the Reverend James Archbell could report that 200 scholars were using school books and had made good progress in elementary instruction, using both the Dutch and 'Sichuana' languages. Some of the pupils, who were reading portions

[26] Thaba Nchu was one of the most important mission stations, situated between two large Barolong towns (with a combined number of inhabitants of 8,000–10,000) and a few small villages. Plaatberg was about one day's ride from Thaba Nchu.

of the bible, had also achieved some proficiency in writing, arithmetic and the WMS catechisms. (Schoeman, 1991: 15)

Initially, Archbell used interpreters to preach in Korana to the Korana, Batswana, Khoikhoi and Griqua ('Bastard') people. However, since few of the Khoikhoi seemed to be able to understand the Korana language, Archbell decided by 1837 to spend more time on learning the Tswana language. Presumably he also wished to avoid the difficulties that were an implicit part of working with interpreters.

Archbell was a pioneer in the study of Tswana and was the author of *A Grammar of the Bechuana Language* (1837). Although he had been preceded as a translator by Robert Moffat, who, as we saw above, had translated and printed a variety of school and scriptural texts into Tswana, Archbell was the first to produce a grammar of the language.

Another prominent Wesleyan missionary was the Rev. James Allison, well known for his translations into Swati, which are the earliest into that language. As a young man of 18 years, Allison came to South Africa together with the 1820 Settlers. In 1846 he produced the first written Swati publication, a 118-page catechism, called *Tenkatekisemi ta la Bawesley Metodisti*, at Shiselweni. In the same year, he also translated a number of Scripture extracts. Regrettably, nothing further was done to develop the Swati language until 1968, when it was introduced into schools in Swaziland. (S.Z. Simelane, 2003)

WILLIAM J. SHREWSBURY

Whilst other members of the LMS had gone to Philipolis and, in the case of Moffat, to Kuruman, the Rev. William J. Shrewsbury went further east and became the first missionary to the Transkei. A survey of his time in South Africa is striking because of his increasingly negative stance towards the people to whom he was ministering.

Prior to his time in South Africa, Shrewsbury had been a missionary in the West Indies, and, according to Fast (1994: 6), a benevolent and paternalistic one. When first

in Xhosaland, he appeared to be ready to appreciate the positive aspects of the Xhosa people, but "Over time [this positive] opinion was superseded by a negative view of the conduct and character of the Xhosa, a change which was influenced by the colonists with whom he associated and by the physical and emotional afflictions which embittered him while in Xhosaland." (Fast, 1994: 6)

Upon arriving at the Cape, Shrewsbury learned Dutch in order to be able to work with Xhosa interpreters, who were usually of Khoikhoi origin. Because he never learnt to speak Xhosa proficiently, Shrewsbury had to depend on interpreters for the entirety of his missionary career in South Africa.

Shrewsbury spent some time at the Wesleyan Mission Station at Mt. Coke, which was directed by William Shaw. It is somewhat surprising, given the fact that he apparently never became proficient in Xhosa, that Shrewsbury later on, in partnership with Shaw, translated the book of Genesis into Xhosa[27]. Indeed, Shaw in his journal remarked on the quality of Shrewsbury's Xhosa language skills:

> April 1828 – Spent the whole of this day with Bro. Shrewsbury at the language. I am quite astonished at his diligence and at the extent of his achievements in the Grammar of the language in so short a period and especially amidst the multifarious engagements of a Caffre mission during the first year of its commencement.

And:

> Sunday 20th, April 1828
> Mr Shrewsbury preached in the forenoon. Much divine influence appeared to accompany the Word. Several of the people wept aloud.
>
> (Shaw in Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 115)

Altogether, Shrewsbury's translation achievements seem to be extraordinary, for his biographer (Fast, 1994: 5) has also commented that

> His attainments in translating portions of the Bible into Xhosa were exceptional, for though his translations were not exact, they conveyed the

[27] He also translated, without Shaw's help, the books of Isaiah, Joel, Matthew, John, Hebrews and James, and sections of the Church of England liturgy.

> essence of what he wished to communicate and did so in an orthography strikingly similar to that in use today.

But for all his apparent translation ability, Shrewsbury's work in this regard did not seem to inspire him. His own words indicate not only how futile he believed his translation efforts to be, but also the potential of his prospective converts:

> If this people are to gain knowledge by translated work, *centuries* will pass away and leave them a semi-barbarous people still.
>
> (Fast, 1994: 128–9)

Shrewsbury, like Moffat, has given graphic descriptions regarding the arduous nature of translating with the aid of an interpreter:

> The difficulty however of translating the Scriptures under such circumstances to men of only ordinary capacity can hardly be exhibited in too strong a light. It is labour indeed. A missionary sits down with his interpreter, who cannot read a single line of the word of God in any language, and perhaps his knowledge of divine things is very imperfect and some of his notions erroneous. He opens the sacred volume and has to translate that in the first instance into barbarous Dutch, that his interpreter may comprehend its meaning; and then his interpreter tells him how that barbarous Dutch ought to be worded in the Caffre language. And thus every verse being a double translation, not only is the progress exceedingly slow, but it may be in several instances, after all care and caution have been employed, the genuine sense is not given, or in only a very imperfect manner.
>
> (Fast, 1994: 128–9)

And this was but the half of it, because of course the translated text also had to be delivered verbally, in a sermon:

> With this translation the missionary stands up to read a portion of the word of God, for his interpreter cannot read it. And here a defect in the pronunciation of words ... occasions a further deterioration of his labours, so that after all, only some parts of what he has accomplished are understood by the people. To remedy these inconveniences in part, it has been my practice for some time past, when I think a verse is obscure, before I read it or after reading it, to give a general idea of the subject through the medium of the interpreter; and when a word is very difficult to pronounce, the interpreter gives its corrected pronunciation after me; and thus I endeavour to fix some portion of holy writ in the memory of my hearers. In the great work of translating the Scriptures, it must however be admitted that the brethren of other Missionary Societies in Cafferland excel us Wesleyans, while the result of their combined exertions only more forcibly proves the vast difficulty of the undertaking.
>
> (Fast, 1994: 128–9)

Possibly a significant part of the reason for Shrewsbury's difficulties in coming to (positive) terms with the Xhosa culture was his profoundly Anglo-centric attitude, which caused him to view Christianity as synonymous with British culture. In Shrewsbury's view, therefore, all converts had also to adopt British customs, attitudes and values before they could be proper Christians. Although Shrewsbury took the trouble to make detailed descriptions of Xhosa culture[28], he never came to understand the underlying world view which gave rise to it. Consequently (and of course this applied to many of the other missionaries as well), his transmission of the Scriptures was usually incomprehensible to his listeners: the enormous language barrier, in combination with contrasting interpretations and perceptions of the world and with Shrewsbury's own sense of frustration, must have created a wall between Shrewsbury and his audience that would have been exceedingly difficult to breach. Fast (1994: 10) provides an illustration of such an instance of communication failure when she describes how one visitor to Xhosaland had asked a man whether he had listened to the mission message, and his response was that he had gone to listen once or twice but had not been able to understand what the missionaries said and had therefore discontinued his visits, even although he believed the missionaries to be generally benevolent.

In addition to the usual forces that contributed to the divide between missionaries and their potential converts, Shrewsbury was subject to the propaganda issued by the Boers, who were themselves estranged from the British authorities: the Boers had warned the Xhosa people that the British government had sent the missionaries, including Shrewsbury, for the purpose of trapping their chiefs. In Shrewsbury's case this would have been Chief Hintsa, with whom he had formed a semi-positive relationship. There were also suspicions that the missionaries were spies for the British, and unfortunately this fear was inadvertently reinforced by Shrewsbury by some of the things he had said to Hintsa.

In this regard, Fast (1994: 9) has pointed out that

[28] Presumably a fair amount of this knowledge would have come from his interpreters.

> Regardless whether the chiefs accepted missionaries eagerly or sullenly, then, their actions were based upon the perceptions that white evangelists had to be treated with care and suspicion. This attitude was mirrored by Xhosa commoners, whose theories about missionary motives were recorded by Stephen Kay, who also ministered at Mt. Coke and Butterworth.

Kay was a missionary of the WMS who did not align himself with the colonists. According to him, the Xhosa either suspected the missionaries of trying to gain possession of the best parts of their country; or of trying to tame the people by turning them into Christians and, eventually, into British soldiers; or of trying to reduce the chiefs' power in order to get the Xhosa people under British command.

Whilst these might not have been the aims of the missionaries, the same cannot be said of the colonial government. Nonetheless, the resulting resistant attitude of the Xhosa frustrated Shrewsbury, who expected them to be more receptive and meek, even joyfully accepting of the message he brought. Whilst the Xhosa had initially met Shrewsbury's sermons with puzzlement and confusion, this response ultimately turned to disbelief and even outright opposition by some.

Regrettably, Shrewsbury mentions little of his interpreters. He employed his own interpreter (rather than somebody else's) for the first time in March 1827. The man's name is initially not mentioned, but Shrewsbury is pleased enough with him to record that he is "thankful to God who directed me to one, who, I think, will be very useful in that office he is engaged to fill." (Fast, 1994: 52)

Eventually, however, the interpreter is revealed to be 'Peter'[29], who is described as being "deeply affected" by the message and weeping "so abundantly that he could scarcely interpret what I delivered." (Fast, 1994: 56) In April 1820 Shrewsbury records in his journal:

> The present week I have been much employed with Peter in translating the Vth of Matthew. This employment has been exceedingly blest to his spiritual edification; the good he has received has been evident in the peculiar evenness and peace and spirituality of his mind.
>
> (Fast, 1994: 100)

[29]William Shaw recorded in his diary on 6 May 1827 that "At the request of Br. Shrewsbury, I baptized his interpreter with the name Peter, he has been under very serious impressions for some time past, and we have good reason to hope that a work of grace is begun in his heart." (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 75)

However, in a note to the same journal entry, Fast gives indications of Peter's usual emotional and mental state, which is suggested to have been generally volatile:

> Peter appears to have been an unstable person. It is interesting to contrast Shrewsbury's opinion of him with the impressions of the shipwreck survivors, … who called him '*vrai diable*' (real devil) and '*le brutal*'. They noted that he was revered by the station people and became theatrically emotional while interpreting Shrewsbury's sermons, but once out of sight of the station, he threatened to abandon the survivors and made their journey to Grahamstown difficult.
>
> (Fast, 1994: Note no. 176)

These indications of Peter's erratic behaviour are reminiscent of Andries Stoffels, the interpreter discussed earlier in this chapter, who, whilst not exhibiting traits of cruelty, was certainly divided in himself and seemed emotionally unbalanced at times.

Shrewsbury's reference, in June 1828, to another interpreter, John Patross[30], provides another example of incongruous behaviour on the part of an interpreter. But it is also possible that some of the apparent incongruity is the result of Shrewsbury's own wishful thinking, or his subconscious projections – as Shrewsbury's journal entry of 6 September 1830 illustrates:

> Buried John Witboy, the interpreter of this station, who first came hither with Brother Kay. He was a Hottentot and about 60 years of age. He had received some degree of religious knowledge at Theopolis, one of the London Society's stations in the colony, and become increasingly acquainted with divine truths from his first coming to Mt. Coke until his death. He was a man of very imbecile mind, and from the weakness of his understanding he was frequently involved in the most childish disputes, and too often gave way to tempers that were trying to the missionaries. Notwithstanding, to those who could bear with his weaknesses, he gave many evidences of being influenced by a sincere desire to please and serve God.
>
> (Shrewsbury in Fast, 1994: 127)

Some other interpreters are also mentioned by Shrewsbury in his journal. One of these was Titus Dubula (assistant interpreter), who came from Wesleyville, and another was

[30] Who is believed by Fast to be the same 'John' mentioned by Shrewsbury in the quote below, even although the discrepancy in surnames suggests that they are not the same person. Shrewsbury's tendency to refer to his interpreters only in passing or by first name only, or even to refer to them namelessly, is responsible for this confusion, and is regrettable.

May Swartland, who was the principal interpreter of the Mt. Coke station, a "sincere Christian", was married to John, and mother of Clara, both of whom Shrewsbury baptised on 15 July 1832 (Fast, 1994: 154). But the most well-known of the Mt. Coke interpreters was Dyani Tshatshu (c. 1791–1868).

DYANI TSHATSHU

Tshatshu was the son of a chief of a minor Xhosa tribe called the 'Ntinde', and later became their chief himself. Shrewsbury provides the following details about Tshatshu in his journal entry of 31 May 1829:

> Lord's Day. John Tshatshu, a converted Kafir employed as a native assistant by the London Society, preached a suitable discourse against polygamy in our chapel this afternoon in his native tongue to an attentive congregation. He first read his text, Matthew 19: 1–8 with fluency from the Dutch Bible, and afterwards, with great care and exactness, gave a verbal translation thereof, sentence by sentence, before he proceeded to expand the passage. He is one of the fruits of the London Society missionaries at Bethelsdorp, where he was educated and baptized, and prepared for the very important station he now fills in the Church of God. Without doubt he ranks first in point of qualifications for translating the Scriptures into the Kafir language. [Fast points out in a note to this text that 'Tshatshu did in fact assist the missionaries in their first Xhosa bible translations.']
>
> (Fast, 1994: 103)

Tshatshu had been converted in 1815 at Bethelsdorp and had become a lay preacher and interpreter for the LMS at the Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Tyume and Buffalo River missions. William Shaw wrote in his journal that "He had been given when very young to Doctor Vanderkamp to be trained and educated. He reads Dutch, is a good carpenter, truly converted, and is an occasional preacher." (C. Sadler, 1967: 182, Note 15)

It is clear from Shaw's diaries (year 1822) that Tshatshu preached to the Khoikhoi and the Xhosa fairly regularly. It is recorded that he would accompany Shaw on visits to Tyume, for example, and that he would carry the heavy musket. On another visit, also in August 1822,

> We set off for the kraal of which Tzatzoe's father is the chief and which is in the neighbourhood of the place where Gaika [Nqgika] was understood to be … Old chief Tzatzoe recognised, in our interpreter, his son; and on his rising to welcome him, we were presently surrounded by all the people who eagerly shook hands with us.
>
> (Fast, 1994: 40)

On the following day, Tshatshu interpreted at the first meeting between Shaw and other members of the party with Ngqika. Shaw hoped to get permission from Ngqika to bring a missionary into his territory and to travel through it to meet another chief, Congo. Ngqika said he would gather his people in order to discuss this possibility and would then revert to Shaw. However, on the eve of the missionaries' departure, the chief sent a message after them stating that they should not return the next day, as he would depart that night to his other residence. Shaw records that "We were all a good deal chagrined, and as for poor Tzatzoe, he appeared quite angry at the conduct of his king." (Fast, 1994: 40) A little later, however, another messenger arrived from Ngqika, asking if they wanted to trade. The missionaries, feeling exploited, refused this request and sent the messenger back with a message that they felt unhappy and that therefore they were leaving. In response to this, a day later, Ngqika's messenger brought a request asking that the missionaries should come to see the chief before leaving. When they returned there, Ngqika gave them permission to visit Congo and to start a mission there if he were willing.

Such visits often seemed to yield positive results for the missionaries, as we shall further see in the discussion under 'William Shaw' below. Shaw, who seems to have been an optimist, believed that "[Caffreland's] proximity to the colony would render [it] a mission field of much promise." (Fast, 1994:43) Certainly, his July 1823 visit, together with Tshatshu and William Shepstone, to the Gqunukhwebe chief, Phatho, and his brothers, Chungwa and Kama, was another success, resulting in permission being given for the establishment of a mission station in the chiefs' territories. (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 9)

Tshatshu was eventually taken to England by Dr. Philip of the LMS, to be shown-off as an example of the success of the missionaries' work. It seems that this visit to England caused some uproar in the colony: Frye (1971: 87) commented that Tshatshu

"achieved notoriety on the Frontier" when taken to England by Dr. Philip. However, Tshatshu ultimately fell out of favour with the missionaries when he joined Ngqika against the British during the Seventh Frontier War ('The War of the Axe', 1846–7), and was excommunicated by the missionary Brownlee.

WILLIAM SHAW

William Shaw, who was the WMS's first missionary in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, though not himself one of the prominent missionary translators, nonetheless had a significant amount of involvement with Scriptural translations. This was largely due to the fact that, starting with one mission station, he had by the end of his career built up 51 stations in four districts, and had also founded a native training institution. His success in the founding of so many South African mission stations was unparalleled and could not have been successful without the great translation efforts that he either carried out or promoted.

Shaw is known for being the translator of one of the earliest books published in Xhosa, which was a translation of the first part of the Conference Catechism, done in 1830. He was also instrumental, in 1830–31, in the creation of another early Xhosa work, the first *Grammar of the Kaffir Language*, by the linguist and missionary W.B. Boyce. The Grammar was printed on a mission press established by Shaw in Grahamstown in 1833 and published the following year.

Shaw ministered both to settlers and to the tribes of the areas that came to be called the Ciskei and the Transkei. He started his missionary career in South Africa in November 1820, by preaching in Dutch to Dutch farmers and the Khoikhoi who worked for them: "As I cannot speak the language with any fluency to pray & preach extempore, I read my prayers, and Edmondson's short sermons, which I translate for the purpose, and I was glad to find, on enquiry after service, that they perfectly understood me. Lord bless this feeble effort." (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 41)

In 1822 Shaw and some of his colleagues began to visit the local Xhosa chiefs (cf. discussion in 'Dyani Tshatshu' section above), and they were always accompanied by an interpreter. Not much is related about these interpreters, but Daniel Kotongo, an

interpreter from Wesleyville, is mentioned with regard to a trip taken to Ngqika in March 1827, as well as one David Boosak (Boezak) who interpreted for Shaw, Shrewsbury and a Mr Tainton at the kraal of 'Tsambie' in May 1827. (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 71–4)

Kotongo, as an able interpreter, earned the following praise from Shaw:

> … - and throughout the whole[31] we found Kotongo, our Interpreter from Wesleyville, to be of great use, from his complete knowledge of the Native feelings and customs, and the confidence with which he delivered some of our most pointed and spirited remarks on the duty of great Chiefs to favour the spread of the Gospel, and the guilt which all who oppose will thereby bring on themselves.
>
> (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 74)

Despite a fair amount of resistance and vacillating on the part of some chiefs such as Ngqika and Hintsa, many of the other tribal chiefs wished for a missionary to live with them. According to Shaw, this desire was apparently not necessarily only due to the potential advantages a missionary could bring them in terms of mediating with the Colony government, but also because the Christian message was lost very quickly amongst the people after a missionary left them. It seems that many Xhosa people

wanted to learn how to read, so that they could benefit from the Scriptural translations that the missionaries were producing. Because it was not possible, for reasons of limited resources and manpower, to start schools in every tribe, Shaw developed a plan that involved teaching the children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and other Christian texts so that they would learn them verbatim and teach them to others.

By late 1828 Shaw, with the assistance of an interpreter[32] or his colleague, Shrewsbury, had produced a number of Xhosa translations. For example, in August 1827 he recorded that he translated a part of the marriage ceremony into the 'Caffre language', and in 1828 that he "taught a part of the Creed in Caffre to a number of fine children." (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 104) After this time, he was increasingly

[31] This 'whole' being a "long and tiresome debate" with Ngqika upon the subject of Hintsa's request that Ngqika would give him advice with regard to receiving a missionary.
[32] One of whom was called 'Josef'.

able to communicate directly in Xhosa. Shaw's translations also included, possibly amongst others, the first two chapters of Genesis, a part of the Lord's Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, a part of the Conference Catechism, a hymn of creation and a hymn of redemption. (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 124)

The reception of Shaw's translations appears to have been generally positive, in contrast to Shrewsbury's experiences. When, in April 1828, he read in public for the first time his and Shrewsbury's translation of the first chapter of Genesis, Shaw noticed that much "interest and attention" were excited by his reading; this encouraged him to believe that his translation was generally understood. (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 112) Gratifyingly, several chiefs attended the sermon that day, and the congregation was large. Later on in the following week Shaw wrote, regarding the effect of his translations:

> I understand that the reading of the first chapter of Genesis in the Caffre language last Sunday has produced much discussion among the people. Even Pato [a chief] expressed himself as astonished at the account which is there given of the creation, and his conviction that it is truly the word of God.
>
> Kama [the chief's brother] being present at the conversation rejoined, 'Yes, this is truly God's word, we cannot gainsay it, and we Chiefs must give account to God for our neglect of it, and for our hereby causing our people to think lightly of it.' Such conversations and discussions as these, though not followed by any immediate visible moral effects, may yet however be regarded as encouraging evidences that the word of the LORD is not bound – and that the 'accepted time of the visitation of this people is not far distant.'
>
> (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 114)

No doubt encouraged by his success, Shaw read his first Xhosa sermon at a forenoon service in July 1828. Once again it seemed, from the "countenance of most of the people", that he was well understood. (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 124)

Subsequent to his successful Genesis sermons in 1828, Shaw records in February 1829 that

> One circumstance which excited much interest was the appearance of the Caffre chief Kama, respectably dressed in European costume, on the platform. Being requested to address the Meeting, he made some appropriate remarks which were interpreted into Dutch by Josef, and I then rendered them into English for the accommodation of such as did not understand the Dutch language.
>
> (Hammond-Tooke, 1972: 149)

It appears that this event was the precursor of greater things, for not long after, in September 1829, Shaw baptised (using the Xhosa language) the aforementioned chief as well as two of the interpreters, Daniel Kotongo and Titus Dubula. For any missionary, a baptism was a tangible form of success, and one that could not have been achieved without the hard work of interpreting and translating that came before.

Whilst Shaw's contributions to published translation work may seem small in comparison to others, it should also be remembered that much of his translation work was never printed.

* * *

There were several other missionary societies from various European and American states that also sent representatives to diverse areas of South Africa. These included, amongst others, the Paris Evangelical Mission Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Berlin Mission Society. In the interest of broadening the overview I am trying to give in this chapter, I have below briefly mentioned some of the translation and printing achievements of these missionaries. Since many of the translations done by these missionaries are also recorded in the catalogue of translated texts that accompanies this research, it is fitting that some additional reference be made to them.

From the **Paris Evangelical Mission Society** (PEMS) came the Swiss missionaries, Eugène Casalis, Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin, who settled at Thaba Bosiu in Lesotho in 1833. They worked amongst the Basotho people of King Moshoeshoe I, and Casalis would eventually found a mission station in this chief's territory, at Morija. Like most other missionaries, they initially preached in Dutch through an interpreter whom they had brought with them from Philipolis. They also

worked together with the Wesleyans at Thaba Nchu, developing orthographies and literacy programmes, and writing tracts. A pamphlet of the PEMS[33], being a record of a public meeting held in Cape Town on 4 October 1848, specifies some of the items that were printed:

> [The Rev.] Mr [J.D.M.] Ludorf [a Wesleyan missionary], assisted by some natives, … is engaged in printing the New Testament in the Sessouto language, which is spoken by nearly 80,000 people in that country. Several elementary books, religious tracts, and a collection of hymns, have already issued from the press at Beersheba[34].

Casalis, Arbousset and Gosselin may be credited with devising the first written form of Sesotho, and together with Ludorf were responsible for a fairly large body of Sotho translations during the mid 19th century, starting in the mid 1830s.

* * *

In 1835 missionaries from the **American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions** (ABCFM) came to work amongst the Zulu people. They established their first printing press at Umlazi in 1837. Unlike the missionaries in the eastern Cape frontier regions, the Americans used settlers' children as interpreters, and even a missionary's son, namely Charles Brownlee, the son of the Rev. John Brownlee, who was one of the early Scottish missionaries mentioned above[35]. A prominent figure amongst the American missionaries was the Rev. George Champion. Champion's usual interpreter was a teenaged boy called Joseph Kirkman.

As was the case in other mission societies, the missionaries of the ABCFM were expected to become proficient in native languages (in this case, Zulu) and do their share of translation work. I have gleaned a number of translation facts from Booth in

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[33] A copy of this pamphlet may be found in the South African Library, Cape Town, in a bound volume titled "South African Missionary Pamphlets 1848 – 1907".

[34] Mission Station near Smithfield, on the Caledon River, Orange River Colony.

[35] A.R. Booth (1967: 139) tells us that

> The early colonists and missionaries employed youths as interpreters because the older people had no knowledge of Zulu, not having grown up with it, and therefore having great difficulty in learning it. So young men like Brownlee, Kirkman, Thomas Halstead (killed with Retief), Richard Hulley and William Wood (killed on the Biggar expedition to the Tugela in 1838), were usually those employed by the missionaries.

The United States Experience in South Africa 1784 – 1870, and have listed them below. However brief, they do contribute towards a broader overview of the subject.

Booth (1976: 101–102) states that by 1848 the Gospel of St. Matthew had been translated into Zulu and was in the mission press, and that by 1849 1,500 hymnals had been printed. Because the need for school texts was so great, Rev. Wilder was assigned as printer at Port Natal with no other missionary duties. Eventually the entire New Testament was printed in Zulu, although the Americans initially printed individual gospels and epistles as soon as they were translated. Under Wilder's direction the printing press also supplied the schools with Zulu texts and hymnals. Plans for a seminary for African teachers were also begun.

Booth (1976: 102, 109) goes on to remark that by 1848 the American missionaries were becoming proficient linguists, and that Lewis Grout and James Bryant published scholarly articles on South African languages in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

From the late 1850s, the Umlazi mission also published a monthly Zulu newspaper called *Ikemzi* (Morning Star).

* * *

The **Berlin Mission Society** (BMS) had been present in South Africa since 1834, when they established their first mission station on the banks of the Riet River in the Northern Cape.

From 1859 onwards, the BMS missionaries Alexander Merensky and Heinrich Grützner worked in the Swaziland and Northern Transvaal region. After 1865, Merensky founded the Botshabelo mission station, which soon became the most important station of the BMS in South Africa and which existed into the 1960s. Here, Merensky established a school, a seminary, workshops, a mill and a printing press.

The Berlin missionaries (including Merensky and others – Knothe, Trümpelmann, Schwellnus and Eiselen) were very active in acquiring the native languages and

assiduously applied themselves to translations of the Bible and productions of hymnbooks, grammars and orthographies. (Howcroft, n.d.)

* * *

Despite the efforts of many missionaries, some of the southern African languages and dialects of the 19th century were to be lost forever. It seems this may have been due not only to the disinterest of the colonial government and colonists in general, but also to that of many other missionaries. In a statement regarding the production of translated Scriptures in indigenous languages in South Africa, the Rev. Henry Tindall of the WMS said in 1856:

> The Missionaries, in general, who have laboured among the Hottentot, Coranna, Bushmen, and Namaqua tribes have neglected the study of their respective dialects, or have seen reasons for not continuing it any further than was necessary to gratify their own curiosity, or to promote their general usefulness. Some have been deterred by the difficulty of acquiring a correct pronunciation; others by the apparent barbarity of the dialects; and others by the hope and expectation that they will soon be numbered among the dead languages; and, therefore, that any time and effort bestowed on them would be labour lost. They have generally been dismissed with some such requiem as the following: --
>
> > 'These dialects abound in those peculiar and barbarous sounds called clicks; and from their harshness, and the limited nature of their vocabularies, appear to be barriers in the way of religious and intellectual culture, and, as such, doomed to extinction by the gradual progress of Christianity and civilization.'
> >
> > *(Statement of the Committee of the Cape Town Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society, relative to the means employed by them in aid of the Translation, Printing, and Circulation of The Scriptures in the Kafir and other vernacular dialects of South Africa*. 1856, G.J. Pike, Cape Town)

However, for those African languages that did receive sustained attention from the 19th-century missionaries, great development and transformation would occur. For ultimately, the effect of missionary education went far beyond turning Africans into 'civilised' imitations of Englishmen/women and good Christians. According to Ntuli & Swanepoel (1993: 20-1):

> In addition to their spiritual message, the Bible translations represented an important step in the emergence of the written literatures. Although they had been undertaken for religious purposes, the translations unlocked a considerable portion of world literature, admittedly limited to the Asia Minor of ancient times. The Bible enabled South African peoples to share experiences with other nations of the world and introduced them to almost all the forms of contemporary literature, giving prospective writers numerous models – fantasy, novellas, hymns, laudations and other forms of poetry, fragments of the dramatic, etc. There were also examples of literature in which readers could recognise their own oral art, such as the formulary patterns in the Book of Psalms and the Proverbs… Having provided the initial impetus, the missionaries eventually signalled the way to a secular literature by encouraging the recording and publication of oral texts, by initiating translations from world literature and, finally, by encouraging creative writing…

This is undoubtedly a very positive view of the effects of missionary intervention, but I believe it holds some truth. We know today – even as some people knew then – that missionary work was a mixed bundle of ostensible blessings.

That any kind of literary progression in the African languages could be made was due to the fortunate fact that missionaries were often not in agreement with the colonial government. Where the government sought to divide, the missionaries ideally looked for common humanity; where the government wished to rule, possess and oftentimes suppress, the missionaries supposedly hoped for greater equality, development and education. Although these dichotomies have been presented broadly, and the missionaries were certainly no saints, the differences in the approaches of the two institutions were distinct. Dr. Van Der Kemp of the LMS and the Anglican Bishop of Natal, J.W. Colenso, were two early examples of how divergent from the mainstream the religious approach could be, and in some ways such men were the precursors of what would eventually become a liberal-humanistic school or politic in South Africa.

Ntuli & Swanepoel (1993: 28) confirm this point of view when they point out that

> Mission societies during the 19th century were not self-evidently supportive of the South African governments of the day. Cape history of the 19th century teems with examples of fierce conflict between the governments and the AmaXhosa. It also records numerous incidents of protest from the mission societies against brutalities inflicted on Xhosa civilians. These include their role during and attitude towards the series of eight Frontier Wars (intermittently between 1779–1877).

> In Lesotho the official relationship with the Orange Free State had always been tense. In the notorious border disputes and the subsequent Basotho-British and Basotho-Free State Wars (1858; 1865), the missionaries of the PEMS and of the other churches, always sided with the Basotho.

Another point in the discussion of the greater or unintended effects of missionary translation is that whilst the missionaries regarded translation as means towards Christianisation and civilisation, and the British colonial powers sometimes saw Christianisation/civilisation as a condition for entry into the rest of the world, we can see today that in its collateral effects translation was also one of the first steps towards globalisation. R. Elphick's perception (in H. Bredekamp and R. Ross, 1995: 20) of Christianisation as cultural translation demonstrates the earliest beginnings of such globalisation:

> … I find the concept of 'translation' helpful for describing the spread of and indigenization of Christianity. The West African missiologist, Lamin Sanneh, has argued that the distinctive feature of Christian missions is the translation of the Holy Scriptures into vernacular languages. Sanneh extends the concept, metaphorically, from linguistic to broader cultural translation. He argues that, by their actions more than by their words, missionaries asserted, first that any language could be made the bearer of the Word of God, and second, that any culture could become a Christian culture… Sanneh does not deny that, as individuals, many missionaries were uncritical advocates of Western culture or absurdly hostile to African culture. But the inner logic of missionaries' commitment to translation tended inevitably toward a decisive indigenization of Christianity in the various settings in which it was preached.

Another coincident effect of missionary translation has been recognised by a Filipino scholar, Vicente Rafael, who studied the Christianisation of a native Filipino people, the Tagalogs, as a struggle *over* translation:

> Rafael shows how Spanish friars tried to gain control of the bodies and souls of Tagalogs through the control of speech and language. He also shows the Tagalogs striving to avoid these outcomes by attaching different meanings to the Spaniards' words and to symbolic complexes such as the sacraments… The model of translation – expanded to embrace other aspects of culture than language – allows us to focus on the fact that two systems of thought do not 'collide'; rather, real people negotiate their way through life, grasping, combining, and opposing different elements which the scholar (but not necessarily the actor) assign to different origins. This process is often called *bricolage*, or makeshift improvisation.
>
> (Rafael, 1988: 21)

This of course brings to mind the translation struggles that have been described by various missionaries above, as well as the humorous mistranslations that caused the missionaries such agony. It also makes me wonder if a closer study of the indigenous South African interpreters of the 18th and 19th centuries would reveal a significant amount of deliberately subversive responses to the missionaries' translations. In this research report, missionary errors and natives' misunderstanding of specific words and concepts have generally been regarded as improvisations. But this may well be an overly simplistic way of understanding the situation, especially as this impression has been garnered from the reports of the missionaries themselves, who were presumably predisposed to hold that point of view rather than charge their interpreters and audience with subversive motives.

Elbourne (1995: para. 19) has pointed out that at least some of the interpreters or 'companions' of the missionaries when they travelled to visit new tribes saw themselves as fellow missionaries. For example, on an expedition undertaken by the LMS missionary John Campbell, "[He] was accompanied by a number of Khoesan Christians from the Cape. … They were active in trying to persuade Tswana individuals to accept missionaries." So much so that a synod of the southern African LMS missionaries was convened in 1814, during which several Khoisan men were selected to act as LMS agents in the interior of the Colony. These included the Griqua leader Andries Waterboer and Cupido Kakkerlak, a product of Eastern Cape mission schools. However, as already pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the LMS would subsequently "devote much energy to reining in and controlling 'native agents' after the earliest years of the mission." (Elbourne, 1995: para. 19)

Elbourne (1995: para. 19) also discusses that evidence from the Cape suggests

> that there was also considerable evangelical activity by converts who were not formally paid by missionary societies, including elephant hunters such as Hendrik Boesak or long-range wagon drivers. In addition, as mission stations became more like churches and congregations fought for independence from missionary control around the mid-century mark, congregations had more authority, not less. My point is that evidence from elsewhere in southern Africa suggests that Christianity was spread by people with long-range contacts other than missionaries, presumably not necessarily in orthodox form.

> The centrality of Khoesan people (and later other Africans) to European-led missions to the Tswana suggests a wider oral evangelical culture that the written records would not completely reflect.

Commentaries such as Elbourne's and a closer and more sceptical study of missionary diaries and histories of the mid 19th century might imply that **"**Africans transmitted Christianity more effectively than missionaries did." (Elbourne, 1995: para. 26) If this is true, it also means that not only much of translation history but also the history of mission stations is lost, as the native Africans would have done all their preaching orally. It would also indicate that the Christian message became increasingly dissociated from missionary control. An extreme example of how far into the wilderness scriptures could be taken by interpretation is provided by Elbourne (1995: para. 26):

> … Xhosa prophet and war hero Makanda Nxele (Makana), who led a Xhosa attack on the colony in 1819, had an earlier flirtation with the LMS; he was refused the right to work as a native agent when he insisted that there was a god for the white man and a god for the black man, and that he himself was related to Jesus Christ.

Nonetheless, sincerity and seriousness on the part of the interpreters was certainly present. Wilson (1972: 11–12), speaking of her experiences as a child and young woman growing up near Lovedale, said that

> The missionaries and their children, who learnt Xhosa and the converts who learnt English, took their function as interpreters very seriously. The missionaries had to preach and interpret the gospel to men who had not heard the good news: they were preoccupied with how to get it across. Tiyo Soga made a magnificent translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and this book had a great influence on missionaries and converts alike. I think that many of them, consciously or unconsciously, identified with the Interpreter in Bunyan's parable. I cannot prove this: I can only report to you what I sense from growing up in Lovedale where the book was constantly read aloud and sometimes acted.

Perhaps the most heartening aspect of the interaction between missionaries and the indigenous people who heard them is that their contact often resulted in an evolution – of thought, religious conception, culture and individual perception. While the influence of missionaries on natives may traditionally be regarded as more obvious

than the reverse, I suspect that the full impact of native African culture and thought on the Christian tradition has not yet been fully appreciated, especially as it continues to this day.

Chapter 3

And then came the colonists, boat by boat

A discussion of non-religious translations and their context in the period ~1750–1860.

Translation as a secular professional activity scarcely existed in the Cape Colony. Although there were a few translators who exercised their skills in legal contexts (translating between English and Dutch) and literary frameworks (translating between various European languages), the amount of translation work available would not have made a living for a translator. Literary translations were also often done only for private benefit and for a small, select audience.

Very noticeably from today's perspective, there was very little attempt to translate – in whatever sense of the word – between indigenous African cultures and the European newcomer cultures. This was due not only to the hitherto illiterate status of the Africans, but also to the predominating mindset of Europeans at that time. As was discussed in the earlier chapters, the dominant view amongst colonists was that pre-technological cultures were inferior in many respects and that they would best be served by education and 'improvement' so that they could be 'elevated' to European cultural standards. Translation was therefore not required, only that Africans learn the language and customs of the colonisers. For example, as late as 1868, the work being done by the Rev. Tiyo Soga (South Africa's first ordained black minister of the Christian faith), who was collecting Xhosa myths, legends and tales with the aim of collating them in book form, was evaluated by Prof. Roderick Noble as follows:

> a series of most interesting legends, tales, and apologues which – endowed as he [Tiyo] is with a keen sense of humour, as well as a power of graphic expression – he can set forth in fitting English garb in a style that would render them of the deepest interest to all of us.
>
> *Proceedings of the 39th Anniversary Meeting of the Subscribers of Public Library of the Cape of Good Hope*, 23 May 1868, pp. 17–18

Failing to appreciate the cross-cultural understanding that Soga's work could promote, Noble instead confers acceptability to Soga's rendition of the folk tales based on their being clad in 'fitting English garb', and rendered in a style that would be suitably entertaining to the English audience.

Fortunately, a small number of colonists differed with the prevailing colonial perspective. Some of these individuals will be discussed later in this chapter.

In Chapter Two we saw that most translation activities were undertaken by various missionaries, who were supported by Christian associations and were tolerated by the colonial government only insofar as the Christianisation of African people was recognised as being an inherent function of European colonisation, and thus a path towards civilisation. The comments of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa in the late 19th century, recorded at the Annual Public Library Meeting in 1868, are evidence of this point of view:

> Apart from all questions of theology and morality, that Book is the Magna Carta of civilization to those people and it is the business of any man who wishes to raise them or make them anything better than they are, to give them a translation of the Bible.
>
> *Proceedings of the 39th Anniversary Meeting of the Subscribers of Public Library of the Cape of Good Hope*, 23 May 1868, p. 30
>
> (Cited in S. Gray, 1979: 165)

Not surprisingly, the rare attempts of poets and writers to cross language boundaries in South Africa were, for all their courage and non-conformism, also coloured by the colonial attitude towards 'primitives'. Hence Thomas Pringle's rendering of Xhosa songs into English[1] not only demonstrated, or hoped to demonstrate that African oral literature or poetry were suitable for consumption by the 'civilised' world, but was simultaneously an inadvertent "act of incipient language colonialism that would lead to the further downgrading of tribal art" (Gray, 1979: 165). Which items of native oral culture were good enough for importation into English was of course decided by the

[1] 'Makanna's Gathering' and 'The Brown Hunter's Song' are examples. Cf. Gray, 1979: 165 for more detail.

English, and even when adjudged 'good enough', would not stand by any other merit than how closely they matched English cultural standards. Against these, they would at best be found to be quaint and naïve, and were frequently regarded as a reflection of a childish state of mind. Again, Sir Bartle Frere provides a good example of this attitude. Not ten years after the remark quoted above, he says,

> It is true that (the clergy's) primary function, is to preach the Gospel to the heathen, but (they) have given much time, labour, and attention, we can hardly say to the *literature* of the heathen, because they have no literature at present, but to the task of *making a literature for them*, to learn about the language and the affinities of their language. Just consider for a moment of how much practical money value is the work of Dr Bleek … to all those dealing with the languages of South Africa.
>
> *Proceedings of the 48th Anniversary Meeting of the Subscribers of Public Library of the Cape of Good Hope*, 19 May 1877, p. 30
>
> (Cited in Gray, 1979: 165, my emphasis)

For Frere and his government, and very likely his audience, concerns of 'practical money value' are the justification for literary endeavours in native languages, and there is little consideration of the possibility of an inherent value to native culture. As Gray (1979) puts it, "Frere's 'practical money value' is not to be derived from any knowledge that may be extracted from the tribal culture of 'our honourable ancestors' for its own interest. The Bible has to be translated into the indigenous languages and effect a conversion of tribal thought first."

We also saw in Chapter Two that not all of the missionaries' interpretations of African oral culture were as benevolent as those of Dr. Bleek and his associates, and certainly there was not a general sensitivity towards the meaning of the collected material. For example, in the appendix to the collection of Tswana fables by the LMS missionary, the Rev. John Campbell, stands the following judgement:

> The following absurd and ridiculous fictions are presented to the notice of the reader only because they exhibit, in a striking manner, the puerile and degraded state of intellect among the native of South Africa. Who can contemplate the ignorance and imbecility which marks this display of Bootchuana *literature* without the liveliest emotions of pity and concern? especially [*sic*] when it has been fully demonstrated, by many pleasing facts, that the African mind is capable by the blessing of God of entertaining the

> exalted views of revealed truth, and of escaping from the shackles of ignorance and the bondage of Satan.
>
> (Cited in Gray, 1979: 165)

Despite all this, and although 'official translation' between Africans and Europeans was in the doldrums, translation in the form of interpreting was happening every day. European and African men (and to some extent, women) were interacting on frontiers, during travels, on farms and domestically. For example, according to M. Wilson (1972), all travelling parties proceeding inland from the Cape Colony, beginning with burghers from Stellenbosch in 1702, had servants with them who served as interpreters. As we have already seen, these were Khoikhoi people, who were also the first interpreters between the 1820 British settlers and the Bantu people on the eastern frontier of the Colony. Although these particular Khoikhoi came from the Cape and had learnt Dutch there, their own language was close enough to Gona (a dialect spoken on the eastern frontier) to enable them to speak with those people.

As the exchanges between Europeans and Africans increased, not only Khoi interpreters but also the general Khoi population eventually spoke Dutch. The increasing landlessness of these people, who lost their lands to the Europeans and the Bantu and became tenants or squatters on the outskirts of towns and on government and private farms, was a contributing factor to the erosion of the Khoi language in favour of Dutch.

However, the lifespan of Dutch in the Cape Colony was already entering its old age by 1800. Roberge (in Mesthrie, 1995) explains that many of the original divisions between various strata of the Cape Colony society began to erode by the turn of the 19th century: By the end of the rule of the DEIC in 1795, the Khoikhoi had been incorporated into the European-dominated society as wage-labourers subject to Dutch law; most slaves and an increasing number of free black Africans had been converted to Christianity or Islam; and miscegenation and intermarriage among groups had become common. Among these people, and especially their descendants, thrived the common vernacular that would eventually become the Afrikaans language.

One of the earliest works of written Afrikaans was *Bayaan-ud-djyn*, an Islamic tract written in Arabic script by Abu Bakr. There are other records of Arabic language used

in the Colony during the 18th and 19th centuries; these are manuscripts mostly concerning Islamic laws and are written in the Arabic script and rendered in both the Arabic and Afrikaans languages (and in a few instances, in Arabic and Malay). Du Plessis (1972: 16) points out that these manuscripts are a useful indication of the Afrikaans spoken by the Malays in approximately 1867. Apart from that, these manuscripts (which I have not seen) constitute an early translation of Arabic into Afrikaans, and are the only examples of this kind that I am aware of for those times.

The scarcity of such material is largely due to the fact that the Muslim slaves at the Cape Colony maintained their allegiance to Islam under difficult conditions, for although the religion was not suppressed, it was not allowed to be practised in public until 1804. This restriction, together with the predominance of the Dutch language in the Colony, ensured the gradual disappearance of Arabic in the Cape. Du Plessis (1972: 48) also mentions that the songs and stories told by 'Malay'[2] slaves were gradually replaced by Dutch ones that retained some elements of their eastern origins. For example,

> Stories from the Arabian nights, interwoven with the fairy tales and fables of Europe and Africa, took on a new quality and became the legends of the Cape. For generations these tales have been told in the Malay Quarter. It used to be the boast of the local Scheherezades that they could tell stories through the night without faltering. In the days when the curfew was rung, this was an asset indeed.

Few of these stories had been recorded at the time that Du Plessis wrote his book, and I am not aware of how much work in this regard, if any, has been done in the meantime. I believe that there is a case to be made for regarding the adaptation of stories as a form of translation activity in South Africa, particularly if the transfer takes place between two very different languages and cultures, as is the case with Arabic and Afrikaans, and during a time period when formal translation was not being practised.

Given the generally dismissive attitudes towards oral cultures and their artistic expressions, it is pleasantly surprising that a small number of praise poems, folk-tales,

[2] The term refers to the language spoken by the slaves, rather than their ethnic or cultural heritage.

riddles and proverbs from Southern Sotho were recorded and translated by the Paris Evangelical Mission Society missionary, Eugène Casalis, whom we met in Chapter Two. These were published in 1841 under the title *Études sur la langue Séchuana*[3]. More than a decade later, in 1859, Casalis published *Les Bassoutos*, which appeared in English translation in 1861, titled 'The Basutos'. According to D.B. Ntuli & C.F. Swanepoel (1993: 10-11) Casalis was the first European to record indigenous oral art forms. They also point out that

> These texts are especially valuable because the praise poems of Goloane (1841: 59), Moshoeshoe (1841: 63–64), and Coucoutle (1841: 72–74) as well as the tale of Kammapa and Litaolane, have never, as far as can be ascertained, been republished in any subsequent collection.

Casalis' colleague, Thomas Arbousset, is credited with recording and publishing the lyrics of a Southern Sotho rain prayer (1852: 259–261). This was rendered as a lament in French (1842:459–463) and in English (1852: 342–344). Arbousset also translated Biblical psalms and Sotho poems[4].

Apparently many texts in the Xhosa, Southern Sotho and Zulu languages were also published in local newspapers and journals before being re-issued in the form of anthologies and similar publications. One such journal was the Eastern Cape *Ikhwezi*, of which four issues were published by the Lovedale Mission between August 1844 and December 1845. (Opland, 1996: 113 and Swanepoel, 1989: 121–126, cited in Ntuli & Swanepoel 1993: 15) [5]

Fortunately the stories, poems, songs and languages of the Khoikhoi and San (/Xam) people were also recorded during the second half of the 19th century. This work was done by Dr Wilhelm H. Bleek, his sister-in-law, Lucy C. Lloyd, and his daughter, Dorothea Bleek (all three of whom were briefly introduced in Chapter One).

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[3] This was a first introduction to the grammar and literature of Southern Sotho and not really Setswana, as stated in the title.

[4] Arbousset was remarkably talented in languages. He was a polyglot, having mastered, in addition to his native French, Arabic, Dutch, German, English, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. In addition to teaching himself Sotho, he also understood Tswana and a small amount of Zulu.

[5] This area of South African publication history may hold many opportunities for further translation history research.

Prior to commencing his work in the Khoisan languages, Wilhelm Bleek had worked in Natal in the early 1850s, and had assisted Bishop Colenso in compiling a Zulu grammar. This was completed 1855, and published as *An elementary grammar of the Zulu-Kafir language*. It was reprinted several times and became the basis of the grammars of W. Wanger[6], C.M. Doke[7] and others. Bleek's sound knowledge of Zulu was later of great help to him in learning Xhosa (the two being closely related Nguni languages).

In November 1855, Bleek was appointed interpreter to the governor, Sir George Grey. In taking this position, he also became the curator of the Grey Collection at the South African Public Library, and completed the greater portion of the catalogue for this library. Bleek also compiled a *Kafir-German-English Dictionary* for Grey – having used as his foundation the work of the missionary, J. Schultheiss, and J.W. Appleyards' work, *The Kafir language* (1850, London)[8].

But it was the work that Bleek later took upon himself with regard to the study and collection of /Xam languages that would earn him the greatest renown. This work was challenging, as the /Xam peoples were remotely situated and rapidly dying out, and it would occupy him for the rest of his life. Initially, his sources of information came mostly from vocabularies and phrases recorded by missionary Thomas Arbousset and Dr Martin Heinrich C. Lichtenstein[9]. Arbousset's work unfortunately did not feature the distinctive click sounds in the /Xam languages and furthermore referred mainly to Seroa, a remotely situated dialect. Lichtenstein's work, on the other hand, indicated not only clicks but also click releases and was also written in /Xam. Distinguishing between the clicks and other difficult sounds of the language was to be a long-term problem for Bleek, for apparently he was still struggling with it in 1866. (E. Perry, 1959?)

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[6] *Catholic Zulu Terminology*. 1913 Mariannhill: Imprimatur, and *Scientific Zulu Grammar*. 1927-. Opera Africana t. 1. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

[7] *Text-book of Zulu grammar* 1947 London: Longmans, Green and Co.

[8] "Appleyards' work was later to be of great value to Bleek in his comparative study of the South African Bantu languages because it reflects the first real insight into the shifting of sounds in the Bantu languages. It was also, for the rest of the nineteenth century, the most comprehensive Xhosa grammar and, as it made this language the most accessible of the Bantu languages for Bleek, he was obliged to use Xhosa as a basis for his comparisons." (De Kock, W.J, *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol. 1:1968)

[9] Contained in his book, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, 1810 ('Travels in southern Africa')

In spite of all difficulties, Bleek's first collection of native literature, which he had collected with the help of missionaries who were working amongst the Nama and Damara people [10], was published in 1863–4, under the title *Reynard the Fox in South Africa*[11]. Bleek had written to these missionaries in 1861, requesting them to make collections of native literature. From Kroenlein, Bleek received 65 pages of manuscript containing 24 fables, tales and legends [12], 12 songs of praise, 32 proverbs and 12 riddles, which had been recorded in 'Hottentot' and translated into German by Kroenlein. A few of these were submitted to Bleek in the original */Nūsa* (a /Xam language). Bleek then translated the tales from German and */Nūsa* into English. With regard to his translations, Bleek mentions in the preface to his book:

> To make these Hottentot Fables readable for the general public, a few slight omissions and alterations of what would otherwise have been too naked for the

[10] These were the Rhenish missionaries C.H. Hahn, J. Tindall, and G. Kroenlein at Beerseba, Great Namaqualand.

[11] With regard to this title, Gray (1979: 166) has made the important point that "In naming his [Bleek's] collection of 'Hottentot' fables and tales *Reynard the Fox in South Africa*, he indicated that a comparison should be made between indigenous material and the proliferation of fabulous epics featuring cunning foxes, and so on, prevalent in the Middle Ages and available for use by writers as diverse as Chaucer and Goethe in the creation of their written hybrids. That similar hybridisation did not occur post-Bleek in Southern Africa is an index not of the inherent literary qualities of the possible constituent parts, but of the society that never realised that such hybridisation is a natural and normal part of literary fermentation."

[12] For the benefit of other researchers I have listed the title of these stories below:

1. The Spectre Sweethearts
2. The Lion Husbands
3. Tenacity of a Loving Mother's Care
4. The Girl who ran after her Father's Bird
5. The Handsome Girl
6. The Little Bushman Woman
7. The Spectre who Fell in Love with his Son's Wife
8. The Lunatic
9. The Girls who Escaped from the Hill Damaras
10. The Elephant and the Tortoise
11. The Two Wives
12. The Lion who took different Shapes
13. The Little Girl left in the Well by her wicked Companions
14. The Unreasonable Child to whom the Dog gave its Deserts
15. Rutanga
16. The Ghost of the Man who was Killed by a Rhinoceros in consequence of his Father's Curse
17. The Trials of Hambeka, a Spirit risen from the Dead
18. The Little Girl who was teased by an Insect
19. The same as 16 (Rutanga)
20. Conjugal Love after Death
21. The bad Katjungu and the Good Kahavundye
22. The Wife who went after her Husband
24. The Little Girl Murdered by the Hill Damara

> English eye were necessary, but they do not in any essential way affect the spirit of the Fables. Otherwise, the translation is faithful to the original, though not exactly literal.
>
> (1863: xxiii)

Bleek also mentions 23 pieces in the *o Tyi-hereró* (Damara) language, as written down by natives themselves, and copied and translated into German by the Rev. J. Rath (another Rhenish Missionary, formerly working in Damara Land, and at the time of Bleek's comment, at Sarepta Knils River).

When making his translations, Bleek also made use of H.C. Knudsen's manuscript on recording the grammar of the Namaqua language, *Stoff zu einer Grammatik in der Namaquasprache*[13], in which he deals with the different parts of speech, including nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, interrogative verbs and sentences.

In 1870 Bleek took advantage of a rare opportunity to test the languages he had gleaned, by trying them out on a fairly large group of /Xam convicts at the Breakwater prison in Cape Town. This is recorded by G. McCall Theal (1911) as follows:

> … for in 1870 a favourable opportunity of studying the Bushman language occurred, of which Dr. Bleek at once availed himself, knowing that in the few wild people left he had before him the fast dying remnant of a primitive race, and that if any reliable record of that race was to be preserved, not a day must be lost in securing it… There were two in particular, whose terms of imprisonment had nearly expired, and who were physically unfit for hard labour. The government permitted him to take these men to his own residence, on condition of locking them up at night until the remainder of their sentences expired. After they had returned to the place of their birth, two other Bushmen were obtained, who ere long were induced to proceed to their old haunts and prevail upon some of their relatives to accompany them back again, so that at one time a whole family could be seen on Dr. Bleek's grounds.

So important did Bleek gauge this opportunity that he interrupted his work on what was perhaps his most important product, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*. (In this work, he treated the Khoikhoi and Nguni languages, the latter

[13] 'Material towards a Grammar in the Namaqua language'

being divided into a number of dialects. The first part of this work was published in 1862, and the first section of the second part in 1869.)[14]

Lucy Lloyd (who, according to McCall Theal (1882), "had boundless patience, untiring zeal, and a particularly acute ear) helped him to record the conversations. The result of Bleek's interaction with the prisoners was a comparative vocabulary of 'Bushman' and 'Hottentot', which also became the preliminary to the /Xam dictionary that Bleek would soon undertake. The progress of Bleek's gathering of /Xam words was at first very slow, but gradually increased, until in 1871 his efforts, together with those of Lloyd, had produced "several hundred pages of script while for 1873 it was put down at 'more than four thousand columns (half-pages quarto) … besides a dozen genealogical tables, and other genealogical, geographical and astrological etc. notices.'" (Perry, 1959?)

McCall Theal, in 1882, had the highest praise for Bleek's efforts:

> To abandon a work the in which fame had been gained [this being *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*], which offered still further celebrity in its prosecution, and to devote himself entirely to a new object, simply because the one could be completed by somebody else at a future time, and the other, if neglected then, could never be done at all, shows such utter devotion to science, such entire forgetfulness of self, that the name of Dr. Bleek should be uttered not only with the deepest respect, but with a feeling akin to reverence. How many men of science are there in the world today who would follow so noble an example?
>
> (London, 1911)

After Wilhelm Bleek's death, Lloyd continued to record the /Xam languages[15]. She was later assisted in this task by Dorothea Bleek, who was persisting in gathering Khoisan folktales.

D. Bleek records that the stories were dictated by Khoisan men in their own language, and that many of them were simultaneously translated by herself and Lloyd. (D. Bleek, *Introduction* to *The Mantis and his Friends*, 1923) This would have been no

[14] When Bleek died in August 1875, he had still not quite completed this work.
[15] In 1889 Lloyd could report that since May 1875 a further collection of 4,534 half pages contained in 54 volumes had been made. The two important results from this work were a large manuscript dictionary of /Xam by Dr. Bleek and another of /Xam and !kuŋ by Lloyd.

mean feat! The overall complexity of bringing these oral stories into the European culture becomes apparent in Bleek's account of a childhood experience of /Xam storytelling:

> /Han…kass'o was gentle and kindly. The colonial children gave him much pleasure, and he played with them and made them birthday presents, such as a set of diminutive bows and arrows or a *!goin!goin*, a bullroarer that /Xam people used as an instrument to make the bees swarm. The children loved to hear him tell his stories. They could not understand the /Xam language, so a member of the Bleek family gave them an outline before the performance began. Then, enthralled, they watched his "eloquent gestures", feeling rather knowing what was happening.
>
> (D.F. Bleek, cited in Lewis-Williams, 2000:26)

Although Bleek's collection of /Xam tales, titled *The Mantis and his Friends*, originally appeared in English only, she intended publishing a small edition of the same tales in /Xam as soon as possible, "so that students of the language may compare the original with the translation." (Bleek, 1923) According to McCall Theal (1911)

> … she proceeded to Europe with a view to arranging it properly and publishing it. For nine years she endeavoured, but in vain to carry out this design, the subject not being considered by publishers one that would attract readers in sufficient number to repay the cost of printing, as that cost would necessarily be large, owing to the style of the Bushman text. In 1896 Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. undertook to get out a volume, but then, unfortunately, Miss Lloyd fell ill, and her impaired strength has since that time delayed the completion of the work. …This is a brief account of the manner in which the material was collected, and of the causes which have delayed its publication for so many years. It would be quite impossible to gather such information now.

The Bleeks' and Lloyd's work of recording the oral culture of various Khoisan peoples was not only unprecedented (theirs was a deliberate effort at preserving oral culture, and not an attempt to entertain an audience with exotic tales[16]), but occurred at the last possible moment in South African colonial history.

[16] Although, according to Gray (1979), "Travellers like Le Vaillant and James Alexander (1838) may be relied upon to bring back folk tales and sayings to the Western world's printing presses with as little mutilation in translation as possible."

Of course there were also a number of translators living in the Cape Colony at this time whose purpose in translation *was* mainly to entertain or to make a living. Although it is difficult to find much information about these men – for they operated independently and were not part of an institution such as a mission society that required formal documentation – the effort of doing so is worthwhile, if the bits of information below are anything to go by.

One of these independent translators was a Frenchman called Charles Etienne Boniface, who is recorded as being a playwright, musician/guitarist, illustrator, lawyer, journalist and the editor of the first Dutch political paper in the Cape as well as of the first Natal newspaper. He was also known as an eccentric reactionary with a difficult personality.

Apparently Boniface was a gifted child who, at the age of 12, already had a thorough knowledge of French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Latin and Greek. It appears that he transformed himself into an 'Afrikaner' by not only speaking the Dutch language in the Cape, but also by using in an official manner the Dutch-derived language that would eventually become Afrikaans: firstly, in a letter he wrote to the *De Zuid-Afrikaan* newspaper in 'Hottentot Afrikaans' and secondly, in a number of farcical plays (more about this below). (Nedweb, n.d.)

After he arrived in the Cape in 1806, he taught languages, dance and music, and added German, English and Dutch to his collection of languages. He also became involved with a French theatrical company and displayed his dramatic talent in his own piece, *L'Enragé* (1807), which was translated into Dutch by his friend, Joseph Suasso de Lima, under the title *De Dolzinnige of De Gewaande Dolleman*. And in 1825 he translated and performed in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

In 1832, Boniface wrote the first original play produced in South Africa, called *De Nieuwe Ridderorde of Temperantisten*[17], in which he made fun of abstainers. In this play, a group of argumentative Khoi and/or 'Cape coloured' people appear, and Boniface makes them speak in their own form of Afrikaans. His comedy started what

[17] 'The New Order of the Knighthood of Teetotallers' (my translation), published by P.A. Brand: Cape Town, Marktplein

would become a tradition of farcical comedies featuring, amongst other things, comical, stereotyped characters of mixed descent. (P.J. Nienaber, 1959) One such was produced three years later, by Andrew Geddes Bain and his friend, Fred Rex. It was called *Kaatje Kekkelbek or Life among the Hottentots*, and had as the main character a woman called Kaatjie (who may have been performed by Fred Rex), who uses 'Hottentot Afrikaans' in the spoken parts, and a mixture of Afrikaans and English in the sung parts[18] (Grey, 1979: 53).

I believe it is appropriate to mention these earliest 'Afrikaans' pieces here because they represent an implicit translation – a moving across – from Dutch to another closely related form of that language, and could be regarded as a distinct area of translation activity.

In the 1820s and 1830s, Boniface also worked as a journalist and for some time edited a Cape weekly newspaper. In 1830 he became the first editor of the first Dutch political magazine in South Africa, the conservative *De Zuid-Afrikaan*. However, because of his biased criticisms and personal verbal attacks on his opponents he soon lost his editorship. (Nedweb, n.d.)

As a consequence of his contentious life in the Cape, Boniface moved to Natal in the late 1840s. There, in collaboration with his friend Cornelis Moll, he started a magazine, *De Natalier*. Together they also edited a newspaper called the *Pietermaritzburg True Recorder*. However, the friendship did not last and Boniface, true to his personal tradition, subsequently wrote a series of twelve bitter satires or diatribes against his previous friend. These were produced during the period 1846–1849, in Dutch, English and French under the title *Bluettes franco-nataliennes*[19]. (Nedweb, n.d.)

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[18] For example, she enters the stage playing a Jew's-harp, singing:
My name is Kaatje Kekkelbek,
I come from Kat Rivier,
Daar's van water geen gebrek,
But scarce of wine and beer.

[19] I do not know whether Boniface wrote these in one language and translated them into the others, or whether he produced each play separately.

Having lost his position as editor of *De Natalier*, Boniface was reduced to poverty. For a brief while his situation improved as he gave Dutch lessons to English-speaking colonists, and did some interpretation and translation work. But he once again became involved in quarrels with those who wished to help him, and, at the end of 1853, committed suicide by taking an overdose of laudanum.

Boniface's friend and fellow journalist of the 1820s and '30s, Joseph Suasso de Lima, was a Dutchman of Portuguese-Jewish descent who settled at the Cape in 1818 and earned a living as a translator of modern and classical tales, and later as an interpreter. Because he was not earning enough from his translation work, he took up work as a teacher, and thereafter as a bookseller, publisher, compiler of almanacs, and particularly as a journalist. De Lima was primarily known for his literary activities, but his disagreeable appearance and financial difficulties also brought him renown. (E. Diallo, n.d.)

His work as a teacher inspired him to write a history of the Cape Colony (*Allereerste beginselen der geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*), which was published in 1825. In the same year De Lima started a weekly newspaper, called *De Verzamelaar* ('The Gleaner'), which concentrated exclusively on literary subjects. De Lima's express aim with this newspaper was to promote the love of reading and writing amongst Cape colonists. (Diallo, n.d.)

De Lima's teaching work also lead him to form a theatre company and to start writing children's plays. Diallo (n.d.) suggests that these activities were also the result of his fight with Boniface, who had been the first to produce children's plays at the Cape, and whom De Lima wished to outshine. De Lima and Boniface's first big quarrel had occurred in 1824, when De Lima wrote an apparently innocent, but teasing poem called *Ieder wordt teleurgesteld* ('Everyone is disappointed'), concerning a postponed performance of one of Boniface's plays. It was a long poem to which Boniface reacted angrily, and resulted in a series of stinging pieces (ballet, plays, satires) written against each other by the two men. (Nedweb, n.d.)

Unfortunately for De Lima, his plays attracted the criticism of the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaans Tijdschrift*, a magazine of Calvinistic persuasion, which deemed his performances unsuitable for young people. This disapproval lead to the disbandment of his theatre company in 1826.

After that De Lima opened a shop called *Nederduitsche Leesboekerij*, which quickly became the foremost bookshop in the Cape, and which earned him the title of the 'Cape Antiquarian'. De Lima's other activities included the formation in 1830 of the Colony's first political newspaper, called *De Zuid-Afrikaan*; the creation in 1832 of an almanac, which kept him busy until his death in 1858; and journalistic work from 1853 to 1858 for another newspaper called *Het Volksblad*. (Diallo, n.d.)

At this point I would like to point out that the information I have presented here has come from books and websites about Afrikaans language history or Dutch Colonial letters/literature, and these naturally focused more on the literary achievements of these men than their translation activities. Although I believe that it is possible to find more detail about these translators, I am also certain that research in this area will require significant effort and time – something that other researchers should take into account should they decide to pursue these topics. As corroboration of this statement, I offer the remarks of the writer, André Brink, who, when discussing his novel *Praying Mantis*, which tells the story of a Khoikhoi interpreter and Christian convert called Cupido Kakkerlak (briefly mentioned in Chapter Two), comments that very little information was available about Kakkerlak, and that for most historians Kakkerlak's life only began when he entered the church. "Prior to that, when he was simply a Khoi labourer on a farm in the Eastern Cape, ... nobody knew about him. He was just a very ordinary, marginalised person." (*The Book Show: Interview with André Brink*, 2006)[20]

The same difficulty applies to information regarding a professional translator working in the Cape at that time, called Justus Gerardus Swaving (born 1784 in Naarden, Holland), whom I would like to mention as being a subject worthy of further research.

[20] For biographical information about his subject Brink relied largely on an article by V.C. Malherbe, called 'The Life and Times of Cupido Kakkerlak'. (1979, *Journal of African History*, Vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 365-378, also available online at http://www.jstor.org/pss/181120, retrieved 11 November 2008.) Further, rare biographies of Khoikhoi individuals can be found in the work of Russel Viljoen.

Kannemeyer (1978: 30) tells us that Swaving was a translator at the Hoogsgeregshof (High Court) in Cape Town and a lecturer of French at the Zuid-Afrikaansch Athenaeum in the Cape Colony. And according to Swaving's own account[21] he was an adventurous man who, after a series of imprisonments and escapes, sea travels and shipwrecks, eventually settled in Cape Town. After being appointed translator at the High Court, Swaving later became an Officer of Justice. A commentator from the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren however cautions that Swaving's claims should be treated with scepticism. (Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, n.d.)

In closing this final chapter of this research report, I would once again like to refer to remarks made by Brink, concerning his research on Cupido Kakkerlak, because his comments illustrate the 'real life' value of historical investigation. When questioned by his interviewer about whether he saw his role as "telling your countrymen and the world the stories of how things became as they are in the place where you come from" (*The Book Show: Interview with André Brink*, 2006), Brink replied that although he didn't see his role as such, because as a writer that might lead to "dangerous" and "indigestible" forms of writing, he enjoyed the opportunity of exploring the world – and South Africa – today, against a larger historical background. His remarks mirror the rationale I gave in the Introduction for doing translation history research in the first place:

> Where do things come from? Where does today's world have its origins and its roots? Obviously, there is never a clear, immediate, one-to-one cause and effect relationship there, but in order to understand our world a little bit better, a bit more completely, I always find it enormously useful, and simply much more fun, to delve into the stories of the past and look at possible beginnings and see how far one can move back into these.
>
> (A. Brink, *The Book Show: Interview with André Brink*, 2006)

[21] As described in his autobiography, called *Swaving's reizen en lotgevallen. Door hemselven beschreven*. (1827, Dordrecht, Blussé en Van Braam)

Conclusion

This research report has attempted to show how translation activity originated and developed in South Africa since the arrival of the first Europeans in the 15th century, up until colonial times in 1860. We know that the earliest translations took the form of small vocabulary lists compiled by certain adventurers/explorers, who published their travel memoirs and records in Europe (cf. Catalogue); and in Chapter One we saw how early translations took place orally, in the form of interpretation between colonists and indigenous people. That chapter gave us an overall idea of the early milieu in which South African languages developed, and in it we also recognised that translation, as an interlingual activity, is necessarily an intercultural one.

In Chapter Two the complex nature of scriptural translation, as well as its varied effects, were examined through the perspectives provided by a number of thumbnail depictions of missionary translators and interpreters. The first missionary translations, around the turn of the 18th century, were only the first of what could almost be termed a deluge of scriptural translations that persisted well into the 19th century and still continue today. An idea introduced in Chapter One, namely that literacy is a precondition for the survival of languages in a multilingual society, was borne out in Chapter Two, as we saw in the missionaries' efforts to bring literacy to the native Africans. Another theme of this chapter was the diverse effects of missionary activities on indigenous African life. While missionary efforts undoubtedly contributed to the modernisation and education of native Africans, it also contributed towards the long-term loss of tribal cultural values and self-esteem. On the other hand, the introduction of literacy to Africans, as well as the translation work of a handful of specific missionaries, ensured that portions of African oral culture – songs, folktales, myths, etc. – were recorded and retained, even as the African traditional way of life was losing ground to European colonisers.

At the same time that missionary translations were proliferating, a small amount of secular translation work was also beginning to establish itself in South Africa. In Chapter Three we saw how the first literary translations between European and South

African languages occurred. A brief description of the work of a number of translators was given, as well as some background on two writer/journalist-translators.

Although the research report focused to a large extent on describing the lives and circumstances of individual translators and on giving an impression of prevailing political and cultural attitudes, this was done with the aim of ultimately providing readers (specifically translation students) with an idea of our historical place in what has thus far been a 400-year experience, and consequently for us to have a deeper consciousness of the significance and impact of translation work being done today. This is not to say that each and every translation is going to change the fate of the nation, but eventually the translations being done currently will form a body of work that will represent an era, revealing something of where we stand today.

Despite the well-known conception of translator as traitor (referring to the unavoidable failure of translations to create exact replicas of the original), translations can be a more truthful historic indicator than many overt historical texts. I think this may be so because translations, while consciously aiming at fidelity within specific linguistic and cultural settings, and even while representing specific agendas, cannot help but embody the meta-context in which they occur. Of course, this meta-context is usually only available to observers in hindsight, and it is the translation's unconscious immersion in the context that makes it so valuable to future observers.

M.C. Batalha (2001: 109) has pointed out this fact in the following way:

> A period can be studied, not only through its artistic production or by that which is selected as an object of study and the works it uses as a model, but also by the works and languages it chooses to translate and incorporate as part of its cultural heritage. And in this case, we can understand that the way of translating and the idea that a translator has of the task he or she is carrying out also carry meaning within the context of the cultural production of a particular period in a country.

Translation activity is, of course, also a significant part of contemporary globalisation. Translation historian and scholar, Anthony Pym, regards increasing globalisation as the reason why translation history research holds importance. He maintains that since global power results from the manipulation of information rather than from

controlling geographical areas, it is "the people who are able to use and develop complex codes, in whatever field, in whatever set of languages [that] are the ones most likely to influence the destinies of our cultures" (Pym, 1998). Although South Africa's cultural and linguistic destiny, like those of other ethnically diverse nations, is perhaps less predictable than average, it seems to be reasonably likely that its linguistic diversity has little chance of survival unless deliberate measures are implemented to prevent large-scale language homogenisation[1]. Above all, South Africa, with its colonial and Apartheid history, needs to foster tolerance and understanding between its various cultural groups – and appreciating their languages and cultures is a powerful way of promoting inter-group understanding. Translating between languages is to give them recognition and respect, as well as to the cultures in which they belong. Researching and making available translation history does the same thing; additionally, it brings to consciousness the continuum in which we act.

I hope that this report has contributed towards these things; moreover, that it will encourage further research in this field. There is certainly still much to be uncovered.

[1] Whether such homogenisation is desirable or not is another question altogether, not to mention the possibility that it might be part of the natural order of human development, simply reflecting contemporary global homogenisation. We live in a time when global "groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous" (A. Appadurai, 1996:48). Such conditions promote a larger degree of cultural uniformity, even although never eradicating all diversity.

Catalogue of translations: South Africa 1652 – 1860

Introduction

This catalogue has been compiled because as yet there is no general catalogue of translations done in South Africa, neither for the above-mentioned time period, nor for any time period subsequently. It is intended only to be the beginning of such a general catalogue. Although I know of two existing bibliographies pertaining specifically to translations done in South Africa, these, however, concern themselves only with very particular types of translations, namely scriptural translations[75] and Afrikaans literature.[76] Readers will notice that I have relied heavily on the former publication. Another, very useful bibliography was that of Dr. W.H.I. Bleek, which catalogues the library of Sir George Grey[77], and which I also used extensively.

For anyone wondering why a general catalogue of South African translations might be desirable, I would like to offer the following quote by the bibliographer, D.W. Krummel (1984: 9),

> The task of compiling lists … is also a responsibility growing out of our belief in the value of providing access to information. Any text that is significant and substantial enough to be published ought to be known about so that it can be consulted. The premise may be debated … but in principle it is virtually an article of faith in a free society. A text that is not discoverable, like the one that is not available, for all practical

[75] Coldham, GE 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London.
[76] Toerien, BJ 1998, *Afrikaans Literature in Translation: A Bibliography*, Tafelberg, Cape Town
[77] Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

> purposes does not exist. The compiling of bibliographies implies an active opposition to censorship, related to our faith in the importance of human diversity. Yet the task of the bibliographer may appear to be a form of censorship in its own right.

With reference to the last sentence in the above quotation, I would like to reiterate that this particular catalogue has no ulterior motive or agenda, other than providing the beginning of a list of translations done in South Africa for the period 1652–1860. Because I have not personally examined every text mentioned in the catalogue, and because I have included texts that I identified only through secondary sources, this collection could not be called a bibliography, and the term 'catalogue' was more appropriate. In bibliographical terms, a catalogue such as this one is deemed to be 'enumerative', insofar as it sets out to provide a list of South African texts translated in the specified period.

To help me in the task of collecting texts I used a number of selection criteria. Broadly, these included:

- Area/place: The texts had to be written by people living in the geographical area that is now known as South Africa. I also allowed some texts that were published outside this area, provided the translation work was actually done in South Africa, by South African inhabitants, or concerned life in South Africa or the history of South Africa as experienced or written about by one of its inhabitants. Therefore, for example, novels about South Africa, written by once-off visitors or distant observers, published in a foreign country and translated there, did not qualify for inclusion into this research.

- Languages: The catalogue would incorporate published works that were either translated from any language into a South African language, or translated from a South African language into any other language, where 'South African languages' include those that were spoken in South Africa by its inhabitants for a period of time, even if such languages were not official languages; for example, native

African languages, including Khoikhoi, /Xam and Bantu; Dutch; Malaysian languages; Cape-Malay Dutch; English; French; and Afrikaans.

- Status: The texts had to have been published.

- Time period: I included only texts that were published in the period 1652–1860.

- Other limitations: My access to libraries was limited by time and cost constraints. This is one of the reasons why the catalogue is undoubtedly incomplete. Further reasons are given in the Introduction.

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Notes:

1. Where possible, translators' Christian names have been given in full when first mentioned; thereafter only the initials have been used.
2. Revisions to the biblical translations listed here are not given. For more comprehensive information in this regard, please consult Coldham (1966) and Bleek (1858).

Date of translation	Translator	Title and publisher (if available) of translation	Name of original text	Source of information
'CAPE HOTTENTOT' TRANSLATIONS				
1697	Translator unknown	Titles uknown, published 1717 in *Illustris viri Godofr* Hannover	Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Apostle's creed	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
DUTCH TRANSLATIONS				
1799	Van Der Kemp, Johannes Theophilus	No title	Letter of exhortation (to Christians)	Enklaar, IH 1988, *Life and Work of Dr. J. Th. Van Der Kemp 1747-1811*, A.A. Balkema, Cape Town & Rotterdam
'EASTERN HOTTENTOT' TRANSLATIONS				
1805/1806	Van Der Kemp, J.T. and Read, James	*Tzitzika Thuickwedi mika Khwekhwnenama* Bethelsdorp	Principles of the Word of God for the Hottentot Nation	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS				
1842	Arbousset, Thomas	"The following pieces are in these books given in the original Sesotho and in their French and English translations, viz., - *Litoku tsa pofu (Louanget de l' Antelope bubale)* -- The praises of the Canna (*Relation* p. 93, *Narrative* p. 46), - *Chant des Marimo* -- Cannibals (*Relation* p. 115, *Narratives* p. 57), - Incantation for hunting the jackal (*Relation* p. 457, *Narrative* p. 231), - Invocation of the Ba-rimo or ancestral spirits (*Relation* p. 550, *Narrative* p. 271) And the following pieces are given in their French and English translation only, viz., - *L' histoire de Tsélané* (*Relation* p. 119, *Narrative* p. 59), - *L' invention de millet*, i.e. Kafir corn	Pieces of Sesotho literature published in T. Arbousset's *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (which is an English translation of *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

		(*Relation* p. 428, *Narrative* p. 217), - *L' aveugle et le Paralytique* (*Relation* p. 459, *Narrative* p. 232), - *Je loup et le Moroa U Bushman* (*Relations* p. 464, *Narrative* p.234), - Harangue of a prophetess (*Relations* p. 468, *Narrative* p. 236), - *Hymne des Affligé* (*Relations* p. 472, *Narrative* p. 239), - *Chant en Sessouto composé par un chef Mo-roa*, i.e, Bushman (*Relations* p .509, *Narrative* p. 249), - Purification after fighting (*Relations* p. 561, *Narrative* p. 283), - Triumphal song (*Relations* p. 590, *Narrative* p. 297)."		
1846	Brown, John Croumbie	*Narrative of an Exploratory Tour of the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* John C Bishop, London, and AS Robertson, Cape Town (publ. 1846)	Arbousset, T. 1842, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance*	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Ntuli, D.B. & Swanepoel, C.F. 1993, *Southern African Literature in African Languages: A concise historical perspective*, Acacia Books, Pretoria, pp. 12–13
1860	Colenso, John William	*Three Native Accounts of the Visit of The Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus; with explanatory notes and a literal translation, and a glossary of all the Zulu words employed1860 in the same: Designed for the Use of Students of the Zulu Language* May & Davis, Pietermaritzburg	*Inncwadi yamuhla umbishopo was'Ental ehmabela Kwa'Zulu*	Copies at University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers library (Johannesburg)

1861	Casalis, Eugène	*The Basutos: or twenty-three years in South Africa.* James Nisbet & Co., London	*Les Bassoutos* (published 1859)	Retrieved June 3, 2008 from http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A8ne_Casalis
FRENCH TRANSLATIONS				
1690?	Simond, Pierre	*Les Veillés Africanes*	Psalms of David	Marais Louw, JM 1979, *The Huguenot Story*, Perskor Publishers: Johannesburg
1842	Arbousset, T.	Title unknown, rendered as a lament in French. Publisher unknown	Lyrics of a Southern Sotho rain prayer.	Ntuli, D.B. & Swanepoel, C.F. 1993, *Southern African Literature in African Languages: A concise historical perspective*, Acacia Books, Pretoria, pp. 12–13
1841 (1842)	Casalis, E.	Titles unknown	Pieces of Sesotho Native Literature in a French translation are given on pages 52— 103 of Eugene Casalis' *Etudes sur la Langue Sechuana, precedes d'une introduction sur l'origine et les progress de la mission chez les Bassoutos.* They consist of triumphal songs, hunting songs, proverbs, riddles and tales or legends and fables. One of these pieces, a hunting song, is also published in the original language on page 80 and the original of the proverbs has been written by the author in the copy presented by him to Sir George Grey.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1842	Arbousset, T.	"The following pieces are in these books given in the original Sesotho and in their French and English translations, viz., - *Litoku tsa pofu (Louanget de l' Antelope bubale)* -- The praises of the Canna (*Relation* p. 93, *Narrative* p. 46), - *Chant des Marimo* -- Cannibals (*Relation* p. 115, *Narratives* p. 57),	Pieces of Sesotho literature published in T. Arbousset's *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance,* which was translated into English under the title *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of*	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

		- Incantation for hunting the jackal (*Relation* p. 457, *Narrative* p. 231), - Invocation of the Ba-rimo or ancestral spirits (*Relation* p. 550, *Narrative* p. 271) And the following pieces are given in their French and English translation only, viz., - *L' histoire de Tsélané* (*Relation* p. 119, *Narrative* p. 59), - *L' invention de millet*, i.e. Kafir corn (*Relation* p. 428, *Narrative* p. 217), - *L' aveugle et le Paralytique* (*Relation* p. 459, *Narrative* p. 232), - *Je loup et le Moroa U Bushman* (*Relations* p. 464, *Narrative* p.234), - Harangue of a prophetess (*Relations* p. 468, *Narrative* p. 236), - *Hymne des Affligé* (*Relations* p. 472, *Narrative* p. 239), - *Chant en Sessouto composé par un chef Mo-roa*, i.e, Bushman (*Relations* p .509, *Narrative* p. 249), - Purification after fighting (*Relations* p. 561, *Narrative* p. 283), - Triumphal song (*Relations* p. 590, *Narrative* p. 297)."	*Good Hope*.	
KORA TRANSLATIONS				
Date unknown	Wuras, Carl Friedrich	Title unknown G.J. Pike, Cape Town	A Catechism in the Korana Dialect of the Hottentot Language	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1815	Translator unknown	Title unknown (published in Campbell, J. *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*, 3rd ed.)	The Lord's Prayer	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

NAMA TRANSLATIONS (Although this is a language now found in southern Namibia, it was also spoken by Khoikhoi in the 17th–18th centuries (and before), in what is now South African territory.)				
Date unknown	Tindall, Henry	Title and publisher unknown	The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and the Epistles of St. John	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1815	Campbell, John	Title unknown (published in Campbell, J. *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*, 3rd ed.)	The Lord's Prayer	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1830	Schmelen, Johann-Heinrich and wife (Anna)	*Kwii Namatiigna kanniss* Wm. Stony Bridekirk, Cape Town	Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1830	Schmelen, J.H. and wife (Anna)	*Neeske kwii koemy kanniss Tsoeikwap koemssago* (Scripture extracts) Publisher?	John I, Luke XV, John XVI, Matthew XXVIII	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1831	Schmelen, J.H. and wife (Anna)	*Annoe kayn hoeaati haka kanniti* (Clicks left out, hence unintelligible to anyone but the translator.) Wm. Stony Bridekirk, Cape Town	Translation of Four Gospels	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1831	Schmelen, J.H. and wife (Anna)	*Tsannati Namanniira nayti J.H. Schmelipgowayti* Wm. Stony Bridekirk, Cape Town	Various hymns	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1845	Knudsen, Hans-Christian	*Nama A.B.Z. :kannis,: gei*hu-*zekhom-ei-:kannis* Pike & Philip, London	Nama ABC, including part of a catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1846	Knudsen, H.C.	*Gai.:Hoas sada 'Kub Jesib Kristib dis, .zi' Naizannati* Pike & Philip, Cape Town	Gospel of Luke and Hymns	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1803-1811	Van der Kemp, J.T.	*Tzitzika Thuikwedi miko Khwekhwenama* Publisher unknown	Parts of the Catechism (Principles of God's word for the KhoeKhoe)	Mesthrie, R. (ed) 2002 *Language in South Africa*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (p. 31)

1854	Based on translations by H.C. Knudsen and W.H.I. Bleek	*Vocabular der Namaqua Sprache nebst einem Abrisse der Formenlehre derselben* (compiled by J.C. Wallman) J.F. Steinhaus, Germany	Nama vocabulary	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1855	Kleinschmidt, H.	*Dr. Martin Lutheri di xharri Katechismus* H. Kleinschmidt, Scheppmannsdorf	Dr Martin Luther's small catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
SEHLAPI TRANSLATIONS (A 'Bechuana' language)				
1826	Moffat, Robert	Title unknown (1st edition) London Missionary Society: Holborn *Buka ea Pocho ea Tuto le Poluko tsa Yesu Keresta; le Mahuku a mangue a Lokualo loa Morimo*(2nd edition - 1831) London Missionary Society, Kuruman	*A Bechuana Catechism with translations of the third chapter of the Gospel by John, The Lord's Prayer and other passages of Scripture etc. In that Language* (Dr. Brown's Catechism)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1830	Moffat, R.	*Evangelia kotsa mahuku a molemo a kuariloeng ki Luka.* Bechuana Mission, Lattakoo	Gospel according to Luke	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1831	Moffat, R.	*Lihela tsa tuto le puluko tsa Yesu Kereste* Government Press, Cape Town	Hymn Book	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1833	Moffat, R.	*Likaelo tse ri tlauchoeng mo Bibelieng go buisioa mo likoleng yaka mokua oa Beritan, Mo puong ea Sechuana.* London Missionary Society, Kuruman	Scripture Extracts	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1836	Lemue, Prosper	*Morisa oa molemo* London Missionary Society, Kuruman	The Good Shepherd (A tract, containing a dialogue between Mary and Mary's mother and a hymn of 4 verses)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1837	Pelissier, Jean P.	*Evangelia ea Yesu Kristi Morena oa Rona ki Mathew* J.P. Pelissier, Meurant & Godlonton, Graham's Town	Gospel according to Matthew	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

1840	Moffat, R.	*Kholagano enca ea Yesu Keresete, eo e len Moréna oa rona le Morebuluki* London Missionary Society, London	New Testament	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1840	Moffat, R. Edwards, R. Lemue, P. Edwards, R. Edwards, R.	1. *Yosefa mohumanegi. Pulelo ea amarure.* 2. *Pulelo.Yakoba mocohi.* 3. *Bua boamarure* 4. *Thusho ea Moleohi* 5. *A loa tloka Tsala?* 6. *Batlabani ba thri hundreda* London Missionary Society, Kuruman	Tracts 1. The True Tale of Joseph the Poor 2. James the Old Man – A Tale 3. Speak the Truth 4. The Help of the Sinner 5. Do You Want a Friend? 6. The Three Hundred Warriors	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Edwards, R. Edwards, R. Edwards, R?	1. *Pulelo ea Lidia Surevanta, khotsa boikaelelo yo bo helang.* 2. *Tsimo ee lapisan, khotsa tiko go botle* 3. *Motheletsi* London Missionary Society, Kuruman	Tracts 1. The Tale of Lydia Sturtevant, or Purpose that Perisheth 2. The garden which wearies, or work for all 3. The Redeemer/Liberator	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Moffat, R.	*Buka ea lipoco tse ri rutang tutho tsa tihelo ea Morimo; le cona licuanelo tsa bathu* London Missionary Society, Kuruman	Assembly Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Moffat, R.	*Buka ea Lipesalem tsa Davida, Khosi le Moperofeti mo Yeserelen* London Missionary Society, London	Psalms of David	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1843	Lemue, P., Livingstone, David, and Pelissier, J.P.	*Lihela tse li bakang Yehova. Ki Baruti bangue. A mongue oa itumela? A ope lipesalema.* French Missionary Society, Kuruman	31 hymns (According to Bleek, some are probably in the **Serolong dialect**.)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1843	Ludorf, J.D.M., Pelissier, J.P. and Lemue, P.	*Lihela tsa Bokereste - "Yehofa ki sehela sa me" Pesaleme cxviii.I* Paris Evangelical Mission Society, Beersheba	40 hymns	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

1847	Ashton, William?	*Mahuku a Morimo a a entsicoen kholaganon e kholugolu ebon Liperovereba tsa Solomon, le Moréri, le Liperofesho tsa Yesaia* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1848	Moffat, R.	*Loeto loa Mokeresti lo lo coan hatsin yenu lo ea hatsin ye le tlan; lo lo kuariloen mo secuancon sa toro. Ki Yohane Bunyun... Kabo I* Religious Tract Society, Kuruman	The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1850	Ashton, W.	*Kaélo mo kaélon; leha e le, lipulelo tsa lokualo loa Morimo, tse ri rutan bana tihélo ea ona* William Ashton, London Missionary Society, Kuruman	39 Chapters of Scripture History (Creation to Death of Joshua) and a catechism.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1853	Unknown	*Phetolélo ea Likualo tsa Pretorius, tse o li rometsen go Gasibonoe le Mahure* Vaal River Republic	Translation of the letters of A.W.J. Pretorius, sent to Chief Gasibonoe and Mahure	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1854	Ashton, W.	*Lipulélo tsa Bibela; le likaelo tse ri rutan bathu tihélo, le mahuku a Morimo.* William Ashton, London Missionary Society, Kuruman	2nd edition of the above, but intended for adults rather than children. Thus includes some changes and additional stories. 80 additional chapters of Old Testament history are also included.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1854?	Unknown	*Molao oa Yaloa yoa Mahkoa* Moshueshue, Kuruman (originally published in Sotho and Dutch in 1854)	The Maine Law ('Law of the Intoxicating Drink of the Civilized')	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1853	Moffat, R.	*Bibela ea boitsépho, E e cutsen kholagano e kholugolu ... Kabo ea eintla* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Old Testament – part one. (Contains the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, two books of Samuel, and two books of Kings.)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1857	Moffat, R.	*Bibela ea boitsépho, E e cutsen kholagano e kholugolu ... Kabo ea botu* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Old Testament – part two. (Contains the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemia, Esther, Job, Song of Solomon, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and all the minor prophets.)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

SEROLONG TRANSLATIONS				
1833	Archbell, James	*Likopocho tsa Bawesliana Metedista: i ririloe li gatisichoe ki taulo ga kokuano ga bona, ka tuto ia bana, li banyana ba mo likulo tsi di kopanchoe li bona. No. 1 Ka Banyana ba botlana. -- Li mokicho ia lipocho tsidi kutsani tsa maina a likoalong tsa Modimo: li litapelo ka Banyana ba Botlana.* Wesleyan Mission Press, Platberg	Conference Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1840	Unknown	*Katikisimi ia ba birioang Bawesiliana Metodisita* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba 'Nchu	Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1846	Lemue, Prosper	*Liperoverebia tsa Salom,o mora oa Davida khosi ea Iseraele* Paris Evangelical Mission Society, Beerseba	Proverbs	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1856	Ludorf , Josef D.M.	*Tiragalo lingue tsa Phuthego ea Kreste* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba 'Nchu	History of the Church of Christ, translated from the German of the Rev. C.G. Barth, D.D.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Melao ea phuthego* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba 'Nchu	Rules of the Methodist Church	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1857	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Katekisema ea Ba-wesley Methodiste No II Go okelericoe ka Katikisemanyane ea litiragalo tsa Bibele le ka sekao sa thapelo* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba 'Nchu	The Conference Catechisms	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1857	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Litiragalo lingue tsa Bibele* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba 'Nchu	Bible Stories, translated from the German of the Rev. C.G. Barth, D.D.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

SESOTHO TRANSLATIONS				
Unknown	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Lietsagalo tsa Yosefa mora- Iseraela* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Beerseba	Deeds of Joseph, Son of Israel	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
Unknown	Arbousset, T.	*Topollo e entsoeng ki Yesu-Kereste* Richert, Pike & Co., Cape Town	Redemption effected by Jesus Christ (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1837	Unknown	*Bukaniane la tapelo le ba sekole ka puo ea Basuto* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Cape Town	Hymn Book	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1839	Casalis, E.; Rolland, Samuel	*Livangeli tsa Yesu-Kereste Morena oa rona tse 'ngoliloeng ki Mareka leYoanne* Richert and Pike, Cape Town	The Gospels of St. Mark and St. John (E. Casalis and S. Rolland, respectively)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1839	Casalis, E., Arbousset, T.	*Katekismaniane ka puo ea Basuto* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Capetown	Little Catechism in Basuto	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1839	Arbousset, T.	*Seyo sa Lipelu se khetiloeng Bibeleng a Khalalelo ka puo ea Basuto.* Richert and Pike, Cape Town	Fifty selections from the Bible	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1839	Arbousset, T.	*Seyo sa lipelu se khetiloeng Bibelong a khalalelo* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Cape Town	Scripture Extracts	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1842	Casalis, E.	*Kereste ki 'nto tsotle polelo ea* Richert, Pike & Co., Cape Town	Christ is Everything (Sermon by J. Philip, D.D.)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

1844	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Lipesaleme le lifela tsa Sione. Le rorise Yehofa gobane o molemo me mogao oa gae ko a ka metla* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Beerseba	Psalms and Hymns of Sion	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1844	Unknown	*Likatikisemi tsa ba reiloeng ba Wesley Methodisti, li bokeletsoeng li gatisitsoeng ha taelo ea putego ea baruti ba bagolu ba bona li entsoe gobane ba likulo tsotle tsa bona ba rutue ka katikisemi tseo. Katikisemi ea go- kala ea ba banyenyane*	Conference Catechism of the Wesleyan Methodists	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1845	Arbousset, T.	*Katekhisma ea pele le Katekhisma ea mabitso a mangolo a Bibele Premier Catéchisme de I Watts DD* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Cape Town	First Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1845	Arbousset, T.	*Li 'nete tsa Bokereste ka mo re rutiloeng tsona* Cape Town Religious Tract Society, Cape Town	*Doctrines Chrétiennes dans le Language des Saintes Ecritures* (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1846	Arbousset, T.	*Katekhisma ea boberi le Katekhisma ea liketsagalo* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Cape Town	Second Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1847	Arbousset, T.	*Ngatana ea lichuantso le likelello e bokeletsoeng* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Cape Town	*Fables et de Proverbes, publié en Sessouto* (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

1848	Casalis, E.; Rolland, S.	*Lievangeli tse mne tsa Ysu Kreste Morena le 'Moluki oa rona, li na le Lietsagalo tsa Baapostola* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Beerseba	Gospels and Acts (St.Matthew and St. Mark by E. Casalis; St. Luke, St. John and the Acts by S. Rolland)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1849	Casalis, E.	*Yesu Kreste molisa a molemo* Saul Solomon & Co., Cape Town	Christ the good Shepherd (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1851	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Buka ea tsenola ea Yesu Kreste e ngoliloeng ki Yohanne* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Platberg	The Book of Revelation	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1852	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Merife ea Meraru ea Yohanne Moapostola*, Wesleyan Mission Press, Platberg	I-III John	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1854	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Liketsagalo tse ling tsa Bibele* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba' Nchu, 1857	Bible Stories: translated from the German of the Rev. C.G. Barth, D.D. into Sesuto by the Rev. J.D.M. Ludorf, Wesleyan Missionary (Contains 52 Old Testament and 52 New Testament stories)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1855	Casalis, E.; Rolland, S.	*Testamente e Ncha ea Morena le Moluki oa rona Yesu Kreste* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Beerseba	The New Testament	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of*

				Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1855	Arbousset, T.	*Buka ea Lipesaleme*, British and Foreign Bible Society, Platberg	The Psalms	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1856	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Lifela tsa bana ba sekole Bao ha ba khutsa mayoe a ka gòa* Wesleyan Mission, Thaba 'Nchu	Hymns for Schoolchildren	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Melao ea phuthego* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba' Nchu	Rules of the Methodist Church	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Ludorf, J.D.M.	*Lietsagalo tse ling tsa Phuthego ea Yesu Kreste* Wesleyan Mission Press, Thaba' Nchu	History of the Church of Christ, translated from the German of the Rev CG Barth, D.D.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
SETSWANA TRANSLATIONS				
1812	Lichtenstein, Martin Hinrich Karl	Title unknown	A first vocabulary list of about 270 words was published in Lichtenstein, H. *Reisen im suedlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*	http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/~jako/lang/unesco/setswana.htm (Retrieved on 27 September 2007)
1814	Salt, Henry	Title unknown	A list of 'Mutshuana' words, published on a voyage to Abyssinia.	http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/~jako/lang/unesco/setswana.htm (Retrieved on 27 September 2007)
1815	Campbell, J.	Title unknown	80 'Bootchuana' words	http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/~jako/lang/unesco/setswana.htm (Retrieved on 27 September 2007)
1826	Moffat, R.	Title unknown London Missionary Society	Catechism, St. John Chapter 3 and other Scripture selections	Northcott, C 1961, *Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa 1817-1870*, Lutterworth Press, London

1830	Moffat, R.	*Evangelia kotsa Mahuku a Molemo a kuariloeng ki Luka* Government Printing Office, Cape Town	St. Luke	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1831	Moffat, R.	Title unknown	Parts of the Old Testament	Retrieved June 3, 2008 from http://www.wholesomewords.org/missions/bmoffat3.html
1833	Moffat, R.	*Likaelo tse ri tlauchoeng mo Bibelieng go buisioa mo likokleng yaka Mokhua oa Beritan; Mo Puong ea Sechuana* Mission Press, Kuruman	Bible extracts	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1837	Pellissier, J. P.	*Evangelia ea Yesu Kristi Morena oa Rona ki Matheu, Traduit de l'original dans la langue Sechuana par J.P. Pellissier* French and Foreign Bible Society, Graham's Town	St. Matthew	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1840	Moffat, R.	*Kholagano Enca ea Yesu Keresete, eo e len Moréna oa rona le morebuluki: e e hetolecoen mo puon ea Secuana* British and Foreign Bible Society, London	The New Testament	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1841	Moffat, R.	*Buka ea Lipesalem tsa Davida, Khosi le Moperofeti mo Yeserelen. E e hetolecoen puon ea Secuana* British and Foreign Bible Society, London	The Psalms	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1847	Moffat, R.	*Mahuku a Morimo a a entsicoen Kholaganon e Kholugolu ebon Liperovereba tsa Solomon, le Moréri, le Liperofesho tsa Yesaia, mo puon ea Secuana* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Isaiah	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1851	Moffat, R.	Without title British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Genesis and Exodus	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

1853	Moffat, R.	*Bibela ea Boitsépo, e e cutsenKholagano e Kholugolu: mo puon Secuana. Kabo ea eintla* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Part One of the Old Testament. Contains Genesis to II Kings	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1857	Moffat, R.	*Bibela ea Boitépo e e cutsen Kholagano e Kholugolu mo puon ea Secuana.Kabo ea botu* British and Foreign Bible Society, Kuruman	Part Two of the Old Testament. Is a revision of his version. Moffat got considerable assistance from his colleague, William Ashton. Contains I Chronicles to Job, Song of Solomon, and Jeremiah to Malachi, with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Isaiah, published in 1853.	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
SISWATI TRANSLATIONS				
1846	Allison, James	*Tenkatekisemi ta la Bawesley Methodisti: Ta palioa ta banteteloa nke o moloeo oe mbutano oe bafundisi la batala ba bo lo tioago eKonferensi Ta enteleloa be tenthlu ta la Makoloa ne be Tekolo le te fundisoa ba bo. E NKatekisemi ea ncanti. Ne e lungelelo E na lenye e nkatekisemi le mficha e Mabito la Tepalo le te Coengile na to tenkulegelo.* Wesleyan Mission Press, Platberg	Conference Catechisms of the Wesleyan Methodists	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1846	Allison, J.	*Kristi Gokanya goe Lepansi Yohane xii. Selilo se NKosi e tu solo lo lo a lilela Yerusalema.* *Seathlulelo se lelanga le gopela Matt xxv.* *Yesu e senkua se bosilo Yohane vi .* *Yesu o motombo oe manti la silisago Yohane vii.* *Kristi o M'alosi lo mothle oe temvu Yohane x.* *E NKosi a kamba etugoe loantle Mat xiv.* *Lesoga le ntona e lebuto le lelekulo .* Wesleyan Mission Press, Platberg	Scripture Extracts	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

ISIXHOSA TRANSLATIONS				
Unknown	Ross, John and Bennie, John	*Eyesibini inncwadana yokubuza gokwamaxosa* Glasgow Mission Press, Grahamstown	Catechism, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Creed, Hymns, Extract from Proverbs	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
Unknown	Calderwood, Henry	*Izifundo galo ituba letu kuye u-Tixo na bantu eziketiwe ezibalweni ezingcwele. Isahlulo sesitatu.* Publisher unknown	Scripture Extracts of the British and Foreign School Society (Chapter 3)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
Unknown	Appleyard, John Whittle	*Inncwadi kaJobi: ikunyushelwe Kokwamaxosa* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Mount Coke	The book of Job translated into the Kafir language	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1824	Translator unknown	*In'cwadana yokubuza en'cinane* Glasgow Mission Press, Chumie	Catechsim (107 Questions and Answers, Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1832	Meuraut, L.H.	*Incwadi yokubuza yezi z- skola, zama-Kristi Ekutiwa gama-Wesli, ema-Xosene* Wesleyan Mission Society, Grahamstown	Catechism	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1833	Boyce, W. B.; assisted by Shaw, William and Shrewsbury, William J.	*I-Gospel, ezindaba ezilungileyo; ebalwe gu-Luke* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Graham's Town	Gospel of St. Luke	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1834	Shrewsbury, W.J.	*Incwadi yom-Propheet u—Isaiah*, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Book of Isaiah	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1835	Wesleyan missionaries	*Le yincwadi yenkonzo ka Yehovah u-Tixo yefundwa ekerkeni zabawesley emaxoseni* Wesleyan Mission Press, Grahamstown	Portions of the Church of England Prayer Book (Three further prayer books were produced in 1840, 1843 and 1851.)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1835	Wesleyan missionaries	*Le yincwadi yamaculo okuvunywa gamaxosa eziskolweni zaba-Wesley* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Various hymns (A number of hymnbooks were subsequently printed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. These have not been listed	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

			here, as it is not clear whether these hymnbooks comprise new translations or are reprints – in various forms – of this one.)	
1835	Shrewsbury, W.J.	*Incwadi yaba- Propheet u-Isaiak no-Joel* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Book of the Prophets Isaiah and Joel	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1836?	Haddy, Richard	*Incwadi yamaculo* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Psalms 1–45 v. 3	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1836	Shrewsbury, W.J. (Assigned to this translator with some hesitation by J.W. Appleyard)	*I-Gospel, ezindaba ezilungileyo ezingcwele, jengokuba kubalwe gu-Mattheus* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Gospel of St. Matthew.[78] ▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1836	Haddy, R. (Assigned to this translator with some hesitation by J.W. Appleyard)	*I-Gospel, ezindaba ezilungileyo ezingcwele, jengokuba kubalwe gu-Markus* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Gospel of St. Mark. ▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

[78] ▲According to J.W. Appleyard, 'These several books were sometimes bound up into one volume, and hence called the first edition of the Kafir New Testament. … About 1,000 copies were probably printed of each book.' (Quoted in Coldham, 1966)

1836	Shrewsbury, W.J. (Assigned to this translator with some hesitation by J.W. Appleyard)	*I-Gospel, ezindaba ezilungileyo ezingcwele, jengokuba kubalwe gu-Yohanne*, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Gospel of St. John ▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1837	Boyce, W.B.	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Gospel of Luke▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1837	Bennie, J.	*Indaba ezilungileyo ezibaliweyogu-Marki* Free Church Mission, Cape Town	St. Mark	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1837?	Ayliff, John	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	James, I–III John and Jude▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1838?	Dugmore, Henry H.	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	The Acts▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1838?	Dugmore, H.H.	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Romans▲	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1839	Bennie, J?	*Incwadana Inamaculo* Glasgow Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Hymns	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1839	Bennie, J.	*Eyokuqala inncwadana yokyfunda gokwamaxosa*	Catechism (27 lessons and five hymns)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul

		Glasgow Missionary Society, Grahamstown		Solomon & Co.
1840?	Warner, Joseph C.	*Proverbs* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie	Proverbs	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1840–1	Laing, James	*Epistole ka-Paulus ku-Ma-Filippi* *Epistole ka-Paulus ku-Ma-Efese* Free Church Mission, Grahamstown	Epistle of Paul to the Philippians and the Ephesians Colossians, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians, 1st Timothy	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
Date unknown	Laing, J.	*I-Epistole ka-Paulus ku-Ma-kolose*	Epistle of Paul to the Colossians	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Laing, J.	*Epistola Yokuqala ka-Paulus ku-ma-Tesalonika. Ishicilelwe gu-Jaffray no-Rowles, E-Hrini* Jaffray and Rowles, Grahamstown	Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (I and II) and Timothy (I)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1841	Döhne, Jakob L.	*Eyokuqala incwadi yokubuza efundwayo* Berlin Missionary Society, Fort Peddie	Catechism (Ten Commandments, Articles of the Christian Faith, Lord's Prayer, Sacrament of Baptism, Communion Sacrament, Eight Hymns)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Bennie, J?	*Inncwadana inamaculo gokwamaxosa* Glasgow Missionary Society, Grahamstown	Various hymns	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841?	Döhne, J.L.	*Amaculo ka Davide* Wesleyan Mission Press, Fort Peddie	The Psalms of David	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul

				Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1841?	Ross, Bryce	*Incwadi Yokuqala Ebaliweyo ngu-Johanes. Umtunywa otunyiweyo ngu-Yesu* Free Church Mission, Grahamstown	The Book of John	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1842?	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	*Selections from Genesis* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie?	Selections from Genesis	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1842?	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	*Selections from Exodus* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie?	Selections from Exodus	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1842?	Dugmore, H.H.	*St. Matthew* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie?	St. Matthew	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1842	Dugmore, H.H.	*Igospeli Engcwele gokubhala kuka Maraki* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie	St. Mark	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1843	Döhne, J.L.	*Imbali yomyolelo omdala* Publisher unknown: Bethel	History of the Old Testament	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

1843	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	*Book of Common Prayer*, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie♠[79]	*Book of Common Prayer* (portions)	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1844	Davis, William J.	*IGospeli engcwele gokubhala kuk-Yohanesi* Wesleyan Mission Press, Newtondale	Gospel of St. John	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1832	Calderwood, H.	*Imbali ka Kaohumu U Kaohumu isicaka* S.J. Abington, Grahamstown	Account of Kaohumu Kaohumu, a servant	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1835	Shepstone, T.	*Ilizwe le Governor we Kaap no Hintsa no Rili* Wesleyan Mission Press, Grahamstown	Word of the Governor of the Cape with Hintsa and Kreli, kings of the Kafirs (Contains two Proclamations by Sir B. D'Urban)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1845?	Dugmore, H.H.	*St. Luke* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie?	St. Luke	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1846	Dugmore, H.H.; Davis, W.J.; Posselt, C. Wilhelm; Döhne, J.L.; Warner, J.C.	*I-Testamente Entsha Yenkosi wetu ka-Yesu Kristu, Gokwamaxosa*, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Newton Dale[80]	The New Testament (According to Appleyard the various portions were prepared as follows: St. Matthew to St. Luke, Acts, Romans, Philipians to II Thessalonians, Titus and Philemon by H.H. Dugmore; St. John and I and II Timothy by William J. Davis; I and II Corinthians by C.W. Posselt; Galatians, Ephesians and Hebrews by	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

[79] ♠ According to Coldham (1966): "in 1843 the W.M.S. published at Fort Peddie portions of the Book of Common Prayer. This was also issued bound with a Hymnbook (King William's Town, 1849), and two separate Catechisms (Fort Peddie, 1848 and 1847). An enlarged Prayer Book containing the Psalter was issued in two sizes at King William's Town and Mount Coke in 1851.

[80] Translation students may be interested in the following letter, which is mentioned in the catalogue *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Vol. 1 Part 1*: 'Correspondence between the Committee of the South African Bible Society, and various Missionaries and others, relative to the Translation, Printing, and Circulation of the Scriptures in the Native Languages of South Africa, and more especially in the Kafir Dialect, with the Resolutions of the Committee thereupon. Printed by order of the Committee' (1857, G.J. Pike's Machine Printing Office: Cape Town)

			J.L. Döhne; James to Revelation by J.C. Warner.)	
1847	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	Title uknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie♠	Catechism	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1847	Bonatz, Adolph	*In'cwadi yabantwana exelayo indaba zabantu be Testamente endala* G.J. Pike, Cape Town	Stories from the Old Testament	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1848	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	Title uknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, Fort Peddie♠	Catechism	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1849	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town♠	Book of Common Prayer (portions) and Hymnbook	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1850	Unknown	*Izicatshulwa zezwi lika- Tixo* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Extracts of the word of God (Contains twenty one Extracts from Genesis)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1850	Unknown	*Izicatshulwa zesibalo e si ngcwele. I Exodusi* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Extracts of Holy Scripture: The Exodus (Contains 23 extracts)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1850	Unknown	*Amacebo ka Solomone* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Proverbs of Solomon	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1850	Appleyard, J.W.; Garner, William H.	*The books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ruth, translated into the Kafir language... Inncwadana Zasezibalweni Ezingcwele: EsinguEzera, noNehemiya, noEstere, noRute: Zikunyushelwe Kokwamaxosa* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther and Ruth (by J.W. Appleyard); Ruth (by W.H. Garner)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

1851	Appleyard, J.W.	*Inncwadana zasezibalweni ezingcicele ezikutiwe ngaba Profite abancinane zihunyushelwe kokwamaxosa Eqonci ishicilelwe* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Books from the holy writings: The Minor Prophets, translated into the Kafir language.	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1851	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town & Mount Coke♠	Prayer Book	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1851	Appleyard, J.W.	*Inncwadana Zasezi Ezingcwele ezi-kutiwe Ngabaprofite Abancinane: zikunyushelwe Kokwamaxosa* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Hosea to Malachi	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1851	Appleyard, J.W.; Garner, W.H.	*Inncwadi zatezibalweni ezinycwele; ezingumshumageli, nengoma ka-Solomone, nezililo zika Jeremiya, no Danyeli: zikutiyushelwe kokwamaxosa* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Lamentations (by J.W. Appleyard); Daniel (by W.H. Garner)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1851	Unknown	*Inncwadi zasezibalweniezingcwele ezicutiwe izinncwadi zeziKronike zihunyuslielwe kokicamaxosa* Wesleyan Mission Office, King William's Town	The two books of Chronicles translated into the Kafir Language	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1852	Dugmore, H.H.	*The book of Psalms translated into the Kafir language. Inncwadi Yamaculo kaDavide: ikunyushelwe Kokwmaxos* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Book of Psalms	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And: Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

1853	Translator unknown	*Incwadi e nembibuzo Gelizwi li Ka-Tixo. Eyesibini, nayembaliso ze zi ka I. Watts, D.D.* Wesleyan Mission Society, Grahamstown	*Dr Watts' Catechisms*	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1853	Lovedale missionaries	*Incwadi yamaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zika-Kristu ezisemaxoseni* Glasgow Missionary Society, King William's Town	Various hymns (87 hymns)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1853	Missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society	Title unknown Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town?	Selections from Deuteronomy, Joshua, I and II Kings, I and II Chronicles and Daniel	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
Unknown (but before 1854)	Unknown	*Izicatshulwa zezwi lika-Tixo* (Contains *I-Duteronomi* (2 Extracts), *U Yoshuwa* (3 Extracts), *Okumkani I* (1 Kings, 2 Extracts), *Okumkani II* (2 Kings, 2 Extracts), *Izikronike I* (1 Chronicles, 2 Extracts), *Izikronike II* (2 Chronicles 2 Extracts) Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town	Extracts of the word of God	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1854	Schultheiss, J.	*Imbali ezecutyiweyo enncwadini kat:Tixo: zibekelelwe ezahlukweni ezibini* Wesleyan Mission Printing Establishment, Mount Coke - British Kaffraria	Bible Stories: translated and abridged from the work of Dr. Barth by the Rev. J. Schultheiss, of the Berlin Mission (Contains 52 Old Testament and 52 New Testament stories)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1855	Appleyard, J.W.	*Inncwadi Zasezibalweni Ezingcwele ezi-kutiwe Zinncwadi Zesikronike: zikunyushelwe Kokwamaxosa* Wesleyan Missionary Society, King William's Town & Mount Coke	I and II Chronicles	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

1855	Thomas, J. Stewart	Without title Wesleyan Missionary Society, Mount Coke	Part of Joshua	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1858	Appleyard, J.W.; Kropf, Albert	*Itestamente Endala: okukuti, inncwadi zonke zocebano oludala, Engekafiki uKristu: ikunyushelwe Kokwamaxosa. Umqulu wesibini-isahlulo 1* Wesleyan Missionary Society, Mount Coke	Old Testament	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1853	Bleek, W.H.I.	*Kafir-German-English Dictionary* Bonn, 1853 Cape Town, 1857	*Kafir-German-English Dictionary*	De Kock, W.J. 1968 *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol. 1, Nationale Boekhandel, Cape Town
ISIZULU TRANSLATIONS				
Unknown	Allison, J.	*Enhulumo e ze shunyaeloe nko Yesu Kristi e Nkosi e tu e ntabeni Mattheu v vi vii* D.D. Buchanan & Co., Indaleni	Speeches by our Lord Jesus Christ on the mountain - Matt v vi vii	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
Unknown	Tyler, John	*Inceku yase yqfika indaba e qinisileyo*	The True Story of a Servant from Africa (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1840	Bryant, James C.	*Inhliziyo yako i lungile na?* American Mission Press, Port Natal	Is thy heart good? (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Adams, Newton	*Ivangdi e U yingcuele e li baliweyo g' Umatu* P.P. Buchanan & Co., Pietermaritzburg	Gospel according to Matthew	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1841	Adams, N.	*Incuadi yesibini yabufundayo Gohuzalua nohuenza nohufa kuka Jesu Kelistus* American Mission Press, Umlazi, Port Natal	Selections from the Gospels (Second learner's book: On the birth and doings and death of Jesus Christ)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1846	Adams, N.	*Incuadi yesibini Yabafundayo. Isindaba e zi ketiweyo encuadini yika Jehova. Ukuesaba kuka Jehova, ku ngukuqala kuokuazi.*	Extracts from Genesis (Second learner's book: Stories selected from the book of Jehovah – The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And

		American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.), Umlazi		Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1847	Adams, N. (?)	*Incuadi yesitatu Yabafundayo. Izindaba zika Jesu Kristu. Ukubala kuesibini*, A.B.C.F.M., Umlazi	Selections from the Gospels and the Ten Commandments	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1847?	Adams, N.	*Selections from Exodus* A.B.C.F.M., Umlazi?	Selections from Exodus	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1848	Champion, George (tr.); Adams, N. (revision)	*Ivangeli e li Yingcuele, e li baliweyo g'Umatu* A.B.C.F.M., Pietermaritzburg (Comment by Coldham: Bleek records an edition in 1841 – possibly a misprint?)	St. Matthew	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1849	Adams, N.	*Incwadi yokubuza Inhliziyo yako ma i banibe* American Mission Press, Port Natal	Catechism ('Let thine heart hold my words')	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1849	Unknown	*Incwadi Yamagama* A.B.C.F.M., Port Natal	Various hymns (Psalms 23, 67, 100)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1850	Bryant, J.C.; Grout, Lewis; Döhne, J.L.; Posselt, C.W.	*Incwadi Yezihlabelelo* A.B.C.F.M., Port Natal	The Psalms	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

1851	Allison, J.	*St. Matthew, Chapters 5-7* D.D. Buchanan & Co., Pietermaritzburg	St. Matthew, Chapters 5-7	Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1854	Döhne, J.L.	*Incwadi ka Paule e balelwe amaRomani* A.B.C.F.M., Port Natal	Romans	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1855	Cane, Nancy[81] and Lindley, Newton	*Umoya o dabukisiwe* and *Ngompefumlo* May & Davis, Pietermaritzburg	'The spirit which is broken', and 'On the soul' (Tracts)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Döhne, J.L.	*Inzuzo enkulu ekona ekuyikoleleni inkosi* May & Davis, Pietermaritzburg	There is great reward in satisfying the Lord (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Unknown	*Incwadi yokukitleka jenga so isimiso sebanhla las' England* May & Davis, Pietermaritzburg	Prayer Book according the Appointment of the Church of England	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1856	Tyler, J.	*Ivangeli eli Yingcwele, eli baliwe, ng'Umarako* May & Davis, Pietermarizburg	St. Mark	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London

[81] According to the Rev. A. Grout, *Umoya o dabukisiwe* was translated by Nancy, a daughter of John Cane by a native woman. Nancy lived many years with Mrs Lindley and was married at the Inanda Station.

1857?	Tyler, J.	*Ngiya kwenzani ukuze ngi sindiswena* J. Cullingworth, D'Urban	I shall do what in order that I may be saved (Tract)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.
1857	Colenso, J.W.	*Church of England Missions. Izindaba Zokupila kuka' Jesu-Kristu indodana ka 'dio unkulunkulu Inkosi yetu* May and Davis, Pietermaritzburg	A Gospel Harmony (History of the Life of Jesus Christ Son of God Almighty)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co. And Coldham, G.E. 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages Vols. 1 & 2*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, London
1859	Grout, L.	*Imisebenzi Yabatunywa: I kumselwe ngabafundisi ba semerika Ngokwa 'Mazulu* A.B.C.F.M., Emsunduzi	The Acts (incomplete)	Bleek, WHI 1858 *The library of ... Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Vol. 1Part 1*, Saul Solomon & Co.

Appendix

AFRICANA LIBRARIES
SOUTH AFRICA

Africana Library, Kimberley
Afrikaans Language Museum and Monument (Die Afrikaanse Taalmuseum en -Monument)
Amatola Museum
Archives Repository of the Dutch Reformed Church of Africa (Argiefbewaarplek van die Nederduitsch Hervormede Kerk van Afrika)
Brenthurst Library
Cape Town Archives Repository
Cory Library for Historical Research
Gauteng Department of Education Library and Information Services: Education Library
Harold Strange Library of African Studies
Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)
JS Gericke Library
Killie Campbell Africana Library
Library of Parliament
South African Library
University of Cape Town Libraries: Manuscripts and Archives Department
University of Durban-Westville Documentation Centre
University of South Africa Library
University of the Witwatersrand, William Cullen Library
University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers

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